

PISIDIA AND THE HELLENISTIC KINGS FROM 323 TO 133 BC*

Following the death of Alexander the Great (323 BC), and the breakdown of his empire (301 BC), the highland region of Pisidia in SW Asia Minor passed under the successive control of all the major Hellenistic kingdoms. Antigonos Monophthalmos, the Ptolemies of Egypt, the Seleucids of Syria, and the Attalids of Pergamon, all became overlords of Pisidia, or at least parts of it, but their efforts to establish a more firm rule over that region met with only partial success. This paper will provide an account of the existing evidence on the relations between the Hellenistic monarchs and individual cities in Pisidia, highlighting the new data, and evaluating the dynastic efforts to establish effective rule over this strategically important, at least in the Hellenistic period, area.

THE REGION'S SITUATION

Pisidia is situated to the southwestern part of Anatolia from which it is separated by mountains. Its exact boundaries are almost impossible to define; its westernmost edge borders on Lycia and was often considered part of that other region (see map). The area of Milyas which lay southwest, between Lycia and Pisidia, was often a disputed territory that was sometimes seen as belonging to either of them, or even occasionally stood apart¹. Moreover, Pisidia's southernmost cities belonged on occasion to Pamphylia, and the epigraphical evidence suggests that their residents

* It is a pleasure to thank Professors H. Hauben, M. Waelkens, and S. Scheers without whose help and advice this article would not have been written. I am especially grateful to my husband, Dr. Jozef Ostyn, who read various versions of this study and offered valuable comments and constructive criticism. This study was conducted at the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, whose Research Coordination Committee granted me a Junior Fellowship in order to work on the project Sagalassos with Professor Marc Waelkens. In the end, I am responsible for all errors and flaws in this study.

Journal abbreviations are those of *L'Année Philologique*; see P. ROSUMEK, *Index des périodiques dépouillés dans la Collection de Bibliographie classique*, Paris 1982; now supplemented by J.L. ARCAZ POZO – J.J. CAEROLS PÉREZ – A. LOPEZ FONSECA, *Clavis periodicum. Índice de publicaciones periódicas del Mundo Antiguo*, Madrid 1995.

¹ A.S. HALL, *The Milyadeis and their Territory*, AS 36 (1986), p. 137-157.

were alternatitely considered as both Pamphylians and Pisidians². Pisidia was provincialized for the first time during the reign of emperor Diocletian (3rd century AD), and until then, it was mostly seen as a rather vague geographical area which, over the centuries, came to belong to a large number of territories and their respective rulers.

According to the few surviving sources, the Pisidians claimed descent from the mythological hero Solymos, a son of Zeus or, according to a different tradition, of Ares. Solymos, in turn, was considered to be the forefather of the Solymoi, a mysterious, legendary, presumably Pisidian, warrior-people, descendance from whom came, in time, to be claimed by a number of local tribes³. Solymos appears to have been unknown to Homer who only mentions the Solymoi in connection with the myth of Bellerephontes⁴. The myth of the Solymoi further appears in the writings of a few other ancient authors, most notably Pindar, Euripides, and Antimachos, who did not elaborate on it, however⁵. According to Stephanos Byzantios, the Solymoi were mainly associated with the region of Milyas in southwestern Pisidia, but they also seem to have played an important role in the official mythology of the cities of Termessos and Ariassos⁶.

Until the advent of the Romans, Pisidia always was a difficult region to control no matter who became its overlord. The ancient Greek authors

² Termessos is occasionally referred to as Pamphylian territory, particularly in Ptolemaic inscriptions. Cf. *infra*.

³ The *Etymologicum Magnum*, 721.43 ff., favours Ares as the father of Solymos, while the other sources prefer Zeus.

⁴ Homer, *Iliad* VI 155-205, particularly v. 184, 205. Bellerephontes's fight against the Solymoi was not originally instigated by his desire to marry the Lycian princess. Following false accusations of attempting to seduce queen Sthenoboa of Argos, the hero was sent by king Proitos to his father-in-law with a letter, in which Proitos asked for Bellerephontes's execution. For a full account of the myth and cult of the hero Solymos and his representation on the coinage of Pisidia, see E. KOSMETATOU, *The Hero Solymos on the Coinage of Termessos Major*, *SNR* 76 (1997), pp. 41-63.

⁵ Pindar, *Olymp.* XIII 129. Cf. also Serv, *Aen.* V 118; Quintus Smyrnaeus II 122. Euripides, *Bellerephon*, fr. 303; cf. Stobaios, *Flor.* 111.9. That Euripides may have talked at some length about the Solymoi is an attractive assumption, given this poet's love for obscure myths which he often promoted in his tragedies. Cf. E. KOSMETATOU, *The Legend of the Hero Pergamus*, *AncSoc* 26 (1995), p. 136. Also: Antimachos, fr. 16 = *Schol. Pal. Hom. Od.* V 283. Antimachos was credited with an edition of the Homeric epics. Cf. B. WYSS, *Antimachi Colophonii reliquiae*, Berlin 1936, *Praef.* 30; V.J. MATTHEWS, *Antimachus of Colophon*, New York 1996.

⁶ Stephanos Byzantios, s.v. *Solymoi*. Cf. also E. KOSMETATOU, *art. cit.* (n. 4), pp. 41-63, and E. KOSMETATOU – M. WAELENS, *Local Pisidian Heroes: Solymos of Termessos and Hero Lakedaimonios of Sagalassos*, in: M. WAELENS – J. POBLOME (eds.), *Sagalassos V (Acta Archaeologica Lovaniensia, 10)*, Leuven 1998 (forthcoming).

described the area as restless, and its inhabitants as rebellious barbarians who spoke their own languages⁷, fought among themselves, stirred up trouble against every «civilized» invader, and turned their region into a pirate's haven⁸. Some modern scholars shared this view at first⁹. The Pisidians appear for the first time in ancient historiography in the writings of Xenophon, who recorded a Pisidian rebellion against king Artaxerxes in 401 BC. According to the same historian, the Persian king organized a campaign against the Pisidians in order to put an end to their continuous raids and devastation of his territory¹⁰. The region became better known to the Greeks following the campaigns of Alexander the Great, and the historians who recorded his deeds did not miss the opportunity to stress the difficulties that he and his generals had in subduing it and in dealing with its «barbarous» population¹¹. Recent investigations and discoveries in the area, however, have painted an image of moderately to fully hellenized city-states that cherished their autonomy.

⁷ For a good overview on the Pisidian language see S. MITCHELL, *The Hellenization of Pisidia*, *MedArch* 4 (1991), p. 121; H. BRACKE, *Pisidia in Hellenistic Times (334-25 B.C.)*, in: M. WAELEKENS (ed.), *Sagalassos I. First General Report on the Survey (1986-1989) and Excavations (1990-1991)* (*Acta Archaeologica Lovaniensia*, 5); Leuven 1993), p. 23-24. The Pisidian language is briefly discussed by: Arrian, *Anab.* I 26.4; Strabo XIII 4.17 (631C). Surviving Pisidian texts have been published by: W.M. RAMSAY, *Inscriptions en langue pisidienne*, *RUM* 1.17 (1895), p. 353-362; J. BORCHARDT – G. NEUMANN – K. SCHULZ, *Vier pisidische Grabstelen aus Sofular*, *Kadmos* 14 (1979), p. 68-79; C. BRIKHE – T. DREW-BEAR – D. KAYA, *Nouveaux monuments de Pisidie*, *Kadmos* 26 (1987), p. 122-170.

⁸ Arrian, *Anab.* I 27.5-28; 28.1-3, where the word βαρβαροι is repeatedly used in connection to the Pisidians; Strabo XII 7.3. A more detailed analysis of these matters follows.

⁹ For earlier modern assessments of the Pisidians see: A.H.M. JONES, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, Oxford 1971², p. 123-146; B. LEVICK, *Roman Colonies in Southern Asia Minor*, Oxford 1967, p. 16-20; H. VON AULOCK, *Münzen und Städte Pisidiens I*, Tübingen 1977, p. 13-15. Among the most important recent revisionist works are: S. MITCHELL, *art. cit.* (n. 7), p. 122; ID., *Hellenismus in Pisidien*, in: E. SCHWERTHEIM, *Forschungen in Pisidien (Asia Minor Studien, 6)*, Münster 1992, p. 1-27; H. BRACKE, *art. cit.* (n. 12), p. 15-16; M. WAELEKENS, *Sagalassos. History and Archaeology*, in: *Sagalassos I* (n. 7), p. 37-50.

¹⁰ Homer mentions the Solymoi who may have been a Pisidian tribe, although Strabo categorically states that they spoke a different, presumably non-Pisidian, language. See: Homer, *Iliad* VI 155-210; Strabo XIII 4.16-17 (630-631); S. MITCHELL, *art. cit.* (n. 7), p. 119. Xenophon, *Anab.* I 1.11, 2.1, 9.14; *Hell.* III 1.3. The Pisidians are not mentioned among the subject peoples in the Persian army that invaded Greece during the Persian wars of 490-479 BC. Herodotos mentions the Milyades only; cf. I 173; III 90; VII 77.

¹¹ Arrian, *Anab.*, I 28.1-2; Strabo XII 7.3.

PIDISIA UNDER ALEXANDER THE GREAT
AND ANTIGONOS MONOPHTHALMOS (333-301 BC)

Pisidia figured early in the struggle among the Diadochoi for domination of Alexander's empire. In order to fully understand the impact of the rule of the Hellenistic kings on this region, an overview of its relations with Alexander the Great who marked the beginnings of its Hellenization, is in order. In 333 BC Alexander joined Pisidia to Phrygia and assigned their control to Antigonos Monophthalmos, the Macedonian satrap of the newly established satrapy of Greater Phrygia which included, apart from Phrygia, Pisidia as well. Greater Phrygia was a largely unstable region, several of its territories, as well as the regions around them, being only nominally «conquered» by Alexander before he moved on to new adventures. Phrygia and Pisidia were among the most troublesome of these, and it was Antigonos who assumed the task to organize their administration and diplomacy¹². It appears that his primary concern was to keep these areas «pacified» and to secure the great principal routes that were vital for Alexander's reinforcements and supplies. Pisidia lay astride the principal north-south route from Bithynia, through Sardis and the Pisidian city of Termessos, to the harbours of Pamphylia¹³.

In order to maintain control over this strategically important area Alexander had laid the foundations for the policy that Antigonos consistently followed throughout his term as satrap. The Macedonian conqueror had decided to win over the population of Western Anatolia in a peaceful manner and avoid unnecessary attacks which would constitute a waste of time and resources. According to Arrian, Alexander was occupied with at least three Pisidian cities during his brief stay in the region, and he dealt with them in totally different ways. Selge promptly

¹² Alexander became the master of several territories without so much as a skirmish. Paphlagonia and Kappadokia surrendered in 333 BC: Arrian, *Anab.* II 4.1-2; Curtius III 1.22; Appian, *Mithrid.* 8 = Hieronymos, *FGrHist* no. 154 F3. For an account of the fate of Pisidia under Alexander, see below n. 5-6. Cf. also J. SEIBERT, *Das Zeitalter der Diadochen (Erträge der Forschung, 185)*, Darmstadt 1983, p. 196; R.A. BILLOWS, *Antigonos the One-Eyed and the Creation of the Hellenistic State*, Berkeley 1990, p. 41-42.

¹³ J.F.C. FULLER, *The Generalship of Alexander the Great*, New Brunswick (NJ) 1960, p. 290-291; R.A. BILLOWS, *op. cit.* (n. 12), p. 42 (map 2); S. MITCHELL, *Three Cities in Pisidia*, *AS* 44 (1994), p. 129. On Alexander and Pisidia in general see: S. MITCHELL, *art. cit.* (n. 7), p. 122; ID., *Hellenismus in Pisidien* (n. 9), p. 4; M. WAELEKENS, *Die neuen Forschungen (1985-1989) und die belgischen Ausgrabungen (1990-1991) in Sagalassos*, in: *Forschungen in Pisidien* (n. 9), p. 45; M. WAELEKENS, *art. cit.* (n. 9), p. 41.

surrendered, but he had to conquer Sagalassos. On the other hand, the Macedonian king refrained from attacking Termessos directly¹⁴. The lack of evidence for any Termessian opposition to the change of power in the Persian Empire during the following decade suggests that Alexander and Antigonos prudently resolved to leave the inhabitants of this city pretty much to their own devices, at least on the domestic front. In return, the Termessians displayed acquiescence to the new ruler, did not pose any threat to the peace and stability of the region, and, most importantly, did not obstruct communications¹⁵. Whether an agreement was concluded between Termessos and Alexander; whether the Termessians were aware of Alexander's plans with regard to the conquest of Pisidia; and whether they were somehow able to impose their own terms in their peace with him, is not known. This pact may have been a lot similar to the one that Alexander concluded with Selge, according to which the city would keep some form of autonomy in exchange for loyalty to the conqueror¹⁶. Alexander in all probability took the pains to ensure that the agreed terms would be kept. Presumably with the help of Antigonos, he reportedly opened up the routes and passages near Termessos, thereby rendering that city less isolated. He also attacked and destroyed the region of Milyas, in western Pisidia, at the other end of the main communication route (see map), both in order to secure his own lines of communication and as a warning to the nearby Pisidian cities¹⁷. Alexander's appointment of Antigonos, one of his most competent generals, as satrap of Greater Phrygia was an additional brilliant political and strategic choice which ensured the pacification of the region.

Alexander did not wait to receive the surrender of the Phrygian city of Kelainai, but relied on Antigonos to conclude its siege. This the satrap

¹⁴ Arrian, *Anab.* I 27.5, 28.1-2. On Alexander's siege and capture of Sagalassos in 334/3 BC see: Arrian, *Anab.* I 28.2-8. Selge had surrendered by the time Alexander attacked Sagalassos: Arrian, *Anab.* I 28.1.

¹⁵ That Termessos charged tolls to those who passed through the city and made use of the backbone artery of western Asia Minor, as Seddon claims, is by no means proved (L.R. SEDDON, *The Agora Stoa at Assos, Aigai, and Termessos: Examples of the Political Function of Attalid Architectural Patronage*, diss. UCLA, Ann Arbor 1987, p. 115). The city was certainly strategically important and had become wealthy through trade. In addition, merchants may have made use of the city's storage facilities, however, very little is known about its history. Future investigation of the ruins will surely yield more information. See also: G.E. BEAN, *Turkey's Southern Shore: an Archaeological Guide*, New York 1968, p. 119-137.

¹⁶ Arrian, *Anab.* I 27.5-28.

¹⁷ Strabo XIV 3.9. Also A.S. HALL, *art. cit.* (n. 1), p. 137-157.

achieved late in 333 BC, by forcing the city to surrender after some resistance, thereby reinforcing the desired control of his territory. Kelainai was located to the south of Phrygia, on the border with Pisidia and on the intersection of the above-mentioned north-south communication route and a major artery oriented from west to east that branched from it (see map). Too shrewd a politician to simply trust the surrender of the citizens of Kelainai, who had caused him problems before their surrender, Antigonos settled there with his Macedonian family. His satrapy's capital had the additional advantage of being located very close to Pisidia in the south, a region which was also very likely to cause him worries¹⁸. It was possibly a little after that event that Antigonos may have founded the city of Kretopolis in Pisidia, near the territory of Sagalassos, as part of Alexander's elaborate colonization program which reinforced the Macedonian grip of the newly-conquered territories and contributed to their pacification, but which also caused considerable tensions among the various populations¹⁹. Kretopolis, whose exact location has recently been convincingly identified by Mitchell, was in all probability a city of paramount importance, located close to the strategic axial road which was crossed by another branch from west to east. As the name of the city suggests, this colony was originally inhabited by Cretan mercenaries from the Macedonian army, who kept an eye on the area, and particularly on the Pisidian cities that had withstood Alexander (Selge, Sagalassos, and Termessos), as well as the region which had a general reputation for stirring up trouble²⁰. Pisidia seems to have

¹⁸ Diodoros XVIII 23.4; Arrian, *Anab.* I 29.1-3; Curtius III 6-8; Seneca, *De ira* III 22.4-5; P. BRIANT, *Antigone le Borgne. Les débuts de sa carrière et les problèmes de l'assemblée macédonienne (Annales littéraires de l'Université de Besançon, 152)*, Paris 1973, p. 46, 101-108; R.A. BILLOWS, *op. cit.* (n. 12), p. 41-42 n. 74; p. 48.

¹⁹ The subject of Alexander's foundations is vast and impossible to discuss here at length. His colonization activities began in 340 BC and are dealt with in detail by ancient authors: Plutarch, *Alex.* 9.1; Plutarch, *Mor.* 328E; Arrian, *Anab.* II 27.7; III 1.5; IV 1.3, 2.2, 16.3, 22.5, 24.7; VI 15.2, 15.4, 17.5-6, 21.5, 22.3; Curtius IV 5.9, 8.1-2, 8.5; VII 6.6; VII 5.25-26, 6.27, 10.15, 11.29; IX 10.7; Diodoros XVII 104.8; XVIII 7.1, 25.5; Athenaios I 33D; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* VI 96-97, 138; Justin XII 5.12. On the foundation of colonies by Alexander see: V. TSCHERIKOWER, *Die hellenistischen Städtegründungen von Alexander dem Großen bis auf die Römerzeit (Philologus, Suppl. 19)*, Leipzig 1926, p. 138-154; W.W. TARN, *Alexander the Great*, Cambridge 1948, II, appendix. 8. For an in-depth analysis, as well as for a list of the most important bibliography, cf. also A.B. BOSWORTH, *Conquest and Empire. The Reign of Alexander the Great*, Cambridge 1988, p. 245-250; P.M. FRASER, *Cities of Alexander the Great*, Oxford 1996.

²⁰ It was Briant who first associated the foundation of Kretopolis with Antigonos Monophthalmos, and Billows supported his conjecture. See: P. BRIANT, *op. cit.* (n. 18),

remained pacified during the following decade, if we judge from the total silence of the sources on any skirmishes.

THE AFTERMATH OF ALEXANDER'S DEATH:

ANTIGONOS AND PERDIKKAS (323-319 BC)

The situation in Pisidia changed dramatically and unexpectedly in 323 BC, upon Alexander's death. In the absence of an heir apparent, a power struggle ensued among Alexander's top-level officers, and a number of revolts took place in Greek and non-Greek cities in Greece and Anatolia. The conference of Babylon, which was organized immediately after the king's premature death, led to the appointment of Perdikkas as *chiliarch* of the kings Philip III Arrhidaios and the infant Alexander IV, as well as caretaker of the Macedonian empire. He was backed by the royal army which acknowledged in him the champion of the Argead House, the only dynasty them that they recognized as the true successor²¹. Perdikkas belonged to the younger generation of Alexander's aides and was the leader of a powerful faction which included his personal *somatophylax* Aristonous; his younger brother Alketas; his brother-in-law Polemon; his lieutenant Seleukos who later became the founder of the Seleucid dynasty; Leonnatos, the satrap of the Hellespontine Phrygia; and general Eumenes of Kardia²².

p. 78 n. 6; R.A. BILLOWS, *op. cit.* (n. 12), p. 47 n. 90. On ancient testimonia on Kretopolis see: Ptolemy, *Geogr.* V 5.1; Diodoros XVIII 44.2, 47.4; Polybios V 72-77. On the history of the city and conjectures of modern authors about its location see: C. MÜLLER, vol. II (1900), p. 862; G.E. BEAN, *Pisidia I*, AS 10 (1960), p. 54 fig. 2a, p. 77-78; ÖZSAIT, *Hellenistik ve Roman Devrinde Pisidya arihi*, p. 195 (*non vidi*); S. MITCHELL, in *Festschrift J. Inan*, 1991, p. 226-245; *id.*, *art. cit.* (n. 7), p. 122 n. 13; S. MITCHELL – I. GÜCEREN, *Yıl Pisidia Yüzey Araştırmaları, Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı* 12 (1994), p. 504; S. MITCHELL, *art. cit.* (n. 13), p. 129-136; G. COHEN, *The Hellenistic Settlements in Europe, the Islands, and Asia Minor*, Berkeley 1995, p. 345-346. Following surveys in the area by Bean, Özait, and, more recently, by Mitchell, Kretopolis has been identified with a site between Bucak, Sivritepe (east of Incirlihan), and Büğdüz (near the modern village of Yüreğil). Mitchell's association of the site of Büğdüz with ancient Kretopolis seems to be the most plausible, since the only surviving inscription mentioning the city and dating to the Roman period may have come from there.

²¹ F. SCHACHERMEYR, *Alexander in Babylon und die Reichsordnung nach seinem Tode* (SAWW, 285), Wien 1954, p. 92-104; J. SEIBERT, *op. cit.* (n. 12), p. 122-126; R.M. ERRINGTON, *Geschichte Makedoniens*, München 1986, p. 114-120; A.B. BOSWORTH, *op. cit.* (n. 19), p. 174-175.

²² Arrian, *Met' Alex.* I 1-8, 24-25; Curtius X 6.1-10; Diodoros XVIII 2.1-3, 5; Justin XIII 2.4.

Following the settlement of Babylon, Perdikkas redistributed the various satrapies and reassigned Antigonos Greater Phrygia, the region which he had been successfully managing for the previous ten years, with the addition of Pamphylia and Lycia. Antigonos's position was undermined, however, with the parallel appointment of Perdikkas's close associate, Eumenes of Kardia, as satrap of Kappadokia and Paphlagonia and counterweight to the older general's power. In addition, Perdikkas ordered Antigonos to join forces with Leonnatos, conquer Kappadokia and Paphlagonia from Ariarathes, and establish Eumenes as satrap of these territories²³.

Antigonos clearly distrusted Perdikkas from the beginning and probably resented the fact that crucial decisions about the fate of the empire were taken by the «younger generation» of Alexander's officers in the absence of himself and other senior generals like Antipatros and Krateros. His refusal therefore to conform by Perdikkas's orders comes as no surprise, although it would at any rate have been difficult for him to obey them, given the state of affairs after Leonnatos's untimely death in Greece and his own unpreparedness for Ariarathes's massive force²⁴. Antigonos eventually lost control of Greater Phrygia, including Pisidia, in 322 BC, when Perdikkas crossed over into Asia Minor and successfully defeated Ariarathes, thereby winning back Kappadokia and Paphlagonia²⁵. By 321 BC, Perdikkas had also pacified Isauria, a region which bordered Pisidia to the east and had forced Antigonos to flee Asia and join the camp of Antipatros and Krateros in Greece²⁶.

²³ Plutarch, *Eumenes* 3.2-3; Diodoros XVIII 16.3-5. Also: C. WEHRLI, *Antigone et Démétrios*, Genève 1969, p. 32-33; P. BRIANT, *op. cit.* (n. 18), p. 125; R.A. BILLOWS, *op. cit.* (n. 12), p. 51-58.

²⁴ Leonnatos came to the aid of Antipatros who was putting down the revolt in Thessaly in 323 BC and was killed in battle there: Diodoros XVIII 14.4, 15.4; Plutarch, *Eumenes* 3.3-5. According to Diodoros, Ariarathes of Kappadokia had amassed 30,000 infantry and 15,000 cavalry: Diodoros XVIII 16.2; Plutarch, *Eumenes* 3.3-6.

²⁵ Arrian, *Met' Alex.* I 11.

²⁶ Diodoros XVIII 24.1, 25.2. Perdikkas captured the cities of Laranda and Isaura in particular which, contrary to what Billows claims, are located in Isauria and not East Pisidia, according to Diodoros's and Strabo's explicit information: Diodoros XVIII 22.1-8; Strabo XII 6.2. On the topography and ruins of Isaura see also secondary literature: W.M. RAMSAY, *The Early Christian Art of Nova Isaura*, *The Athenaeum* 190 4.2, no. 4004, July 23, 1904, p. 119-121; ID., *The Early Christian Art of Isaura Nova*, *JHS* 24 (1904), p. 260-292, nos. 1-38; ID., *Topography and Epigraphy of Isaura Nova*, *JHS* 48 (1925), p. 220-221; ID., *Anatolica Quaedam VII. The Site of Isaura Nova*, *JHS* 50 (1930), p. 269-272; A.S. HALL, *Valerius Valentinianus Praeses of Isaura*, *AS* 22 (1972), p. 213-216 (= *Bull. épigr.* 1973, p. 183 no. 479).

About the false charges against Antigonos by Perdikkas and the former's defection to join the Macedonian forces in Greece see: R.A. BILLOWS, *op. cit.* (n. 12), p. 58.

Perdikkas chose to make his headquarters in Pisidia, and settled his younger brother Alketas in Termessos, and his associate Eumenes of Kardia in the satrapy of Kappadokia and Paphlagonia. An army was formed, of which Pisidian mercenaries under the leadership of Alketas made part²⁷. Perdikkas eventually held a war council in Pisidia in 321 BC in order to decide how to deal with the clear ambitions of other Macedonian generals who by that time had each made his bid for the empire or parts of it²⁸. Ptolemy had settled in Egypt, conquered Kyrene, and abducted Alexander's body in order to use it in his propaganda which aimed at establishing himself as his former master's successor in the *de facto* spear-won kingdom of Egypt²⁹.

From his base in Pisidia, Perdikkas sought next to establish his control over Asia by organizing campaigns against his enemies³⁰. Since he still held the communication routes, he prevented them from access to supplies and reinforcements, as well as from reaching him in that mountainous region. His plans seem not to have met with any opposition from the local population to judge from his readiness to open war on many fronts. On the other hand, he attempted to further secure his position as heir of Alexander's empire, by negotiating a marriage and alliance between Alexander's sister Kleopatra and himself³¹. His successes did not last long however. Antigonos crossed into Asia Minor, and, with help from Antipatros and Krateros who were still stationed in Macedonia, he waged war against Perdikkas. In 320 BC he gained control of

²⁷ Arrian, *Anab.* III 8.5; Diodoros XIX 23.3; Plutarch, *Eumenes* 4.1-3, 5.1. About Alketas's activities and his army see: Arrian, *Met' Alex.* I 41-42; Appian, *Syr.* 52; Diodoros XVIII 29.2, 41.7, 44.1, 46; Justin XIII 6.15; Plutarch, *Eumenes* 5.2.

²⁸ Arrian I 26; Diodoros XVIII 25.6, 29.1-3.

²⁹ For Ptolemy's activities see: *Marmor Parium*, section 10; Arrian, *Anab.* I 17-19, 24.1, 25; Diodoros XVIII 14.1-2, 21.6-9, 28.3-6. For the abduction of the funerary cart see: Diodoros XVIII 26.3, 28.2-4; Curtius X 5.4; Pausanias I 6.3; Strabo XVII 1.8 (C794); Aelian, *Varia Historia* XII 64; P.M. FRASER, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, Oxford 1972, I, p. 15-16 with n. 79 (II, p. 31-32); Stella G. MILLER, *Alexander's Funerary Cart*, in: *Archaia Makedonia*. Symposium IV 1983, Thessaloniki 1986, p. 401-411; N.G.L. HAMMOND – F.W. WALBANK, *A History of Macedonia III: 336-167 B.C.*, Oxford 1988, p. 120; J.J. POLLITT, *Art in the Hellenistic Age*, New Haven 1986, p. 19.

³⁰ On Perdikkas's activities see: Arrian, *Met' Alex.* I 25.2-6; Diodoros XVIII 23-25. See also R.A. BILLOWS, *op. cit.* (n. 12), p. 53-67, where previous secondary literature is cited.

³¹ On Perdikkas's arrangements to marry Antigonos's sister Nikaia and his resolve to divorce her and marry Kleopatra instead see: Arrian, *Met' Alex.* I 21, 26; Diodoros XVIII 23.1-3; Justin XIII 6. Cf. J. SEIBERT, *Historische Beiträge zu den dynastischen Verbindungen in hellenistischer Zeit (Historia Einzelschriften, 10)*, Wiesbaden 1967, p. 19-24, esp. 21.

Lydia, Ionia and Karia³². Not realizing the impossibility to withstand war in two fronts, by fighting Antigonos in Asia and Ptolemy in Egypt simultaneously, Perdikkas left Pisidia to his brother Alketas and tried to deal with both enemies nevertheless. After his defeat by Ptolemy along the Pelousiac branch on the Nile, a few officers of his entourage judged that the situation had gotten out of hand, Perdikkas's cause was futile, and formed a conspiracy which resulted in his assassination³³.

A new arrangement among the Diadochoi restored the former satrapy of Greater Phrygia to Antigonos, at least nominally, since he would be obliged to conquer it all over again, this time from the remaining members of the Perdikkan faction. Eumenes of Kardia was stationed at Helle-spontine Phrygia, and Alketas, backed by his Pisidian mercenaries, tried to retain his grip over at least that area. The two of them combined would have undoubtedly made one formidable enemy and could have caused a lot of trouble to Antigonos. Their distrust of each other which dated already from before Perdikkas's death and had been initiated by Alketas, however, facilitated Antigonos to overpower them eventually. Through masterful propaganda and much bribery, which was undoubtedly directed towards Pisidian cities and Pisidia-stationed mercenary soldiers, Antigonos managed to persuade several of Eumenes's followers to defect; to defeat their leader; and to force him to surrender and join forces with the faction of Antipatros in exchange for his life³⁴. Alketas was a more difficult and complicated case altogether, however.

Although Antigonos's ten-year rule over Pisidia (333-323 BC) had presumably been uneventful, and no local dissatisfaction or revolts are recorded, it seems that the feelings of the local population towards their satrap were indifferent at best. At least part of the region was seemingly attached to the Perdikkan faction, and more particularly to Alketas. Perdikkas had risen to power after Alexander's death because he had the army's support. One may therefore assume that his faction enjoyed the goodwill of some of Alexander's troops stationed in Pisidia, at least immediately after the king's death. In particular, it is estimated that Alketas's army at the time of his conflict with Antigonos, in 319 BC, although less than half the size of his opponent's, nevertheless com-

³² Arrian, *Anab.* I 25.1-4, 26. Also: R.A. BILLOWS, *op. cit.* (n. 12), p. 62-67.

³³ Arrian, *Anab.* I 28, 35; Diodoros XVIII 33.1-36.5; Nepos, *Eumenes* 5.1.

³⁴ Arrian, *Anab.* I 34-42; Diodoros XVIII 39.5-6, 40; Justin XIV 1.9; Plutarch, *Eumenes* 8.3.6, 9.2, 10.1-4; Polyainos IV 6.12. Also: R.A. BILLOWS, *op. cit.* (n. 12), p. 67-78.

prised about 20,000 men³⁵. At least 6000 of those were Pisidian mercenaries who were very devoted to their leader and were a considerable force to reckon with, given the fact that they were competent warriors who knew their mountainous country well. Moreover, Alketas was a young and charismatic leader, a master of public relations, who had won over his men in a few years' time through gifts and kindness and particularly appealed to the younger generation of Pisidians³⁶.

It seems, however, that, just like Perdikkas, Alketas did not correctly assess the difficulty of his situation and the futility of resisting a foe like Antigonos. On the other hand, he overestimated the extent and usefulness of his own popularity, as well as his talents as a general and the support of his allies. He surely could not have seriously entertained aspirations to ever win the kind of support of the army and/or of any of Alexander's generals that his brother had originally enjoyed. His best option was to follow Ptolemy's example in Egypt by exploiting the existing power gap that resulted from the deaths of Perdikkas and Krateros, and establishing himself as ruler of Pisidia. In addition, his personal dislike for Eumenes of Kardia, who by that time had been forced to defect to Antigonos, contributed to his decision to stay where he was and fight.

The decisive battle between Antigonos and Alketas took place in the territory of Kretopolis in 319 BC. The former marched from Kappadokia westwards, displaying his brilliancy as general as he manipulated his superior forces, which included elephants, through the territory and eventually defeated his opponent. The Cretan mercenaries who were stationed at Kretopolis probably supported Antigonos against Alketas, judging from the ease with which he manœuvred his troops in the area³⁷. Diodoros is unclear about Alketas's plans following the battle. He may have entertained the thought of surrendering to Antigonos, just like Eumenes had done a few months before. Indeed Diodoros hints that Alketas's disillusionment about his position was reinforced by his Pisidian mercenaries who urged him to settle in Termessos and continue his resistance against Antigonos³⁸. The latter followed suit and demanded

³⁵ See above n. 16. Also: Diodoros XVIII 45.2; R.A. BILLOWS, *op. cit.* (n. 12), p. 77-78.

³⁶ Diodoros XVIII 45, 46.1-2.

³⁷ Diodoros XVIII 44-47; Polyainos IV 6.7; R.A. BILLOWS, *op. cit.* (n. 12), p. 77-79; S. MITCHELL, *Three Cities in Pisidia* (n. 13), p. 130-132, for an analysis of the battle taking into account the topography of the area.

³⁸ Arrian, *Successors* I 39; Diodoros XVIII 44.2-45, 50.1.

cooperation from the Termessians in handing him over Alketas. The elders of the city were not eager to get involved into the divisions among the Diadochoi, particularly since their autonomy was not at stake. They betrayed Alketas who finally understood that the game was over for him. Since he was of no use to Antigonos and therefore could not enter into any kind of negotiations, he duly took his own life³⁹.

Pisidia thus returned under the control of Antigonos. On the other hand, Alketas's supporters remained loyal to him even beyond the grave: They recovered his body which had been maltreated by Antigonos in a style befitting the Homeric Achilles, and gave him a splendid funeral. His may have been the rock-cut tomb bearing the relief of a warrior which is located just outside the walls of Termessos, although such an identification is tentative at best⁴⁰. Alketas's former Termessian mercenaries initially decided to retaliate for their leader's betrayal. They threatened their city with civil war, but eventually chose to organize guerilla bands who raided the territory, probably because they did not receive the necessary support of most of the Termessian younger population. Diodoros's text is again not clear on this issue, but a certain lack of enthusiasm for dead Alketas's cause, which, after all, was to be expected at this point, can be surmised from the fact that part of the Termessian youth had already supported the elders' decision to betray Alketas. Moreover, the fact that Alketas's former mercenaries rather chose to leave Termessos for the mountains suggests that it was lack of support from their city rather than last-minute compassion which prevented them from starting a civil war⁴¹.

ANTIGONOS'S SECOND RULE OF PISIDIA (319-301 BC). HIS MONETARY SYSTEM

After restoring peace in Pisidia, Antigonos returned to his capital at Kelainai from where he organized his administration once more. There is no more information about further unrest in Pisidia, and it appears that

³⁹ Diodoros XVIII 45.5-47.3-4; R.A. BILLOWS, *op. cit.* (n. 5), p. 79-80.

⁴⁰ K. LANCKORONSKI, *Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens I. Pisidien*, Wien-Prag-Leipzig 1892, p. 23-126; A. PEKRIDOU, *Das Alketas-Grab in Termessos*, Tübingen 1986; M. WÄLKENS, *Die Kleinasiatische Türsteine*, Mainz 1986, p. 26-28.

⁴¹ Diodoros XVIII 46-47; P. BRIANT, *D'Alexandre le Grand aux Diadoques: le cas d'Eumène de Kardia*, *REA* 47 (1972), p. 63-64; R.A. BILLOWS, *op. cit.* (n. 12), p. 80.

the Macedonian satrap even tried to integrate at least part of the region in Alexander's unified monetary system. This system was based on the «international» standard of Attic weight silver tetradrachms of the «young Heracles» type, which were struck in the name of Alexander by the conqueror himself and by the Hellenistic kings after his death. These tetradrachms set the standard for the royal portrait coins that were struck from the fourth through the early second century BC. The adoption of a common coinage by most of the Hellenistic monarchs (the Ptolemies dropped out of the system very early) can partly be explained in the context of the confusing political situation which arose after the death of Alexander, before the definitive map of the Hellenistic world emerged. On the other hand, this unified monetary system based on a common currency with a fixed rate also facilitated trade and population movements and certainly contributed in the general economic stability of the third century BC⁴².

Under Antigonos, a mint was established at Termessos for the first time in the history of the city. It struck posthumous Alexander tetradrachms, but its emission was probably insignificant and may have only lasted through Antigonos's second rule of the region (319-301 BC), to judge from the fact that very few samples of those coins have survived and are present in hoards⁴³. Of all Pisidian cities, only Selge had been minting coins since the late fifth century BC. Its inhabitants who had the reputation of being very independent-minded, and who would create serious problems to their Greek rulers later, chose not to join Alexander's monetary union that was adopted by most of the Hellenistic world. The Selgians therefore continued to mint coins with their own independent types in the old Persian standard that Alexander had abandoned in the beginning of his reign and were apparently never forced to give up this practice⁴⁴. Etenna was apparently

⁴² G. LE RIDER, *Les Alexandres d'argent en Asie Mineure et dans l'Orient séleucide au II^e siècle av. J.-C.* (c. 275-c. 225). *Remarques sur le système monétaire des Séleucides et des Ptolémées*, *JS* 1986, p. 3-51; E. KOSMETATOU, *The Public and Political Image of the Attalids of Pergamon. Studies on Inscriptions, Coinage, and Monuments*, diss. Univ. Cincinnati, Ann Arbor 1993, p. 31-40.

⁴³ M. THOMPSON – O. MÖRKHOLM – C.M. KRAAY, *An Inventory of Greek Coin Hoards*, New York 1973, p. 186-187, 188, 259, nos. 1405 (Gordion, ca. 205 BC), 1406 (Gordion, ca. 205-200 BC), 1411 (Asia Minor, ca. 190 BC), 1806 (Susiana, after 138 BC). One specimen of a posthumous «Alexander» is preserved at the collection of the American Numismatic Society, according to the curator of Greek coins, Carmen Arnold-Biucchi.

⁴⁴ G.F. HILL, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Lycia, Pamphylia, and Pisidia at the British Museum*, London 1897, p. CXIII-CXVII, 258-260.

also allowed by Antigonos to retain its own limited independent coinage in the Persian standard⁴⁵.

PISIDIA AFTER ANTIGONOS. THE PTOLEMIES OF EGYPT TO 198 BC

In 301 BC Antigonos was definitively defeated in the battle of Ipsos, which marked the *de facto* breakdown of what was left of Alexander's empire. Subsequently, the remaining Diadochoi parcelled out Monophthalmos's holdings among themselves. The fate of Pisidia in the aftermath of the turmoil is unclear⁴⁶. It is certain, however, that parts of the region, particularly in the south, close to the Pamphylian coast, were annexed by Ptolemy I Soter of Egypt. We do not hear anything about local reactions to the new political situation, but the change in power appears not to have meant much to the Pisidians who were, once again, left to their own devices as long as they did not entertain any plans for revolt or the disruption of communications or trade. It does appear that the limited mint activity in the area ceased everywhere except from Selge, which continued its own independent monetary policy undisturbed through the early second century BC⁴⁷.

The extent of the Ptolemaic rule in Pisidia remains unclear. Theokritos boasts that, at least under Philadelphos, Egypt controlled the Pamphylians, Lycians, and Pisidians. But the Ptolemaic influence that he implies was probably wishful thinking, since it is not corroborated by any significant evidence⁴⁸. The region was certainly important to the Ptolemies for its harbours, which they tried to control by founding at least two colonies: Ptolemais which was located between Kibyra and Augai, and Arsinoe further to the east⁴⁹. The extent of Ptolemaic involvement in the affairs of the other Pisidian and Pamphylian cities

⁴⁵ H. VON AULOCK, *Münzen und Städte Pisidiens* II, Tübingen 1979, p. 28-30, 75-76, nos. 399-402; cf. J. NOLLÉ, *Zur Geschichte der Stadt Ettena in Pisidien*, in: *Forschungen in Pisidien* (n. 9), p. 61-139.

⁴⁶ Bracke's statement that the region came under the control of Lysimachos of Thrace is not based on any source material. Cf. H. BRACKE, *art. cit.* (n. 7), p. 16.

⁴⁷ G.F. HILL, *op. cit.* (n. 44) p. 258-260.

⁴⁸ Theokritos XVII 86-92.

⁴⁹ Strabo XIV 4.2, 5.3; R.S. BAGNALL, *The Administration of the Ptolemaic Possessions outside Egypt*, Leiden 1976, p. 110-114; C.P. JONES – Chr. HABICHT, *A Hellenistic Inscription from Arsinoe in Cilicia*, *Phoenix* 43 (1989), p. 316-346; M. ZIMMERMANN, *Die lykischen Häfen und die Handelswege im östlichen Mittelmeer. Bemerkungen zu PMich I 10*, *ZPE* 92 (1992), p. 201-217; G. COHEN, *op. cit.* (n. 20), p. 333-337, 339-342.

remains unclear, however. Interestingly, it seems certain that the Ptolemies did not establish their own monetary system in Pisidia, contrary to their usual practice in the territories under their control⁵⁰.

According to the epigraphical evidence, the Ptolemies gained control of the frontier city of Termessos, on the border with Pamphylia, during the first half of the third century BC. An inscription honoring the Macedonian Pamphyliarch Philip, son of Alexander, which is firmly dated to 281/0 BC, during the reign of Ptolemy II Philadelphos, informs us that the city was under the domination of Egypt, and belonged administratively to Pamphylia. The Termessians apparently went along with the new political situation, even adopted the Macedonian calendar, and dated according to the reigning years of their master Philadelphos⁵¹. The fact that they hastened to abandon the Macedonian calendar in the Roman period and adopted their own era does suggest, however, that they were very independent-minded and not particularly keen on conforming to any foreign standards⁵².

Pisidia does seem to have constituted an important source for the recruitment of mercenaries for the Ptolemaic kingdom as well. An inscription, found in Egypt and dated to the years of Ptolemy IV Philopator, between 210 and 204 BC, mentions, among the dedicants honoring the reigning king and queen, a grateful *hegemon* by the name of Apoasis, son of Miorbollos, from Etenna and his, presumably Pisidian, mercenaries⁵³. Since Etenna is a frontier city on the Pisidian/Pamphylian border, it may have shared the fate of Termessos and possibly of

⁵⁰ On the Ptolemaic monetary system see above n. 42.

⁵¹ E. MEYER, *Die Grenzen der hellenistischen Städten in Kleinasien*, 1925, p. 44, 160; W. OTTO, *Beiträge zur Seleukidengeschichte des 3. Jahrhunderts v.Chr.* (ABAW, 34.I), München 1928, p. 20; W. RUGE, in: *RE* XVIII 3 (1949), col. 365, s.v. «Pamphylia»; H. SEYRIG, *RN* 1963, p. 40, 47, 56-57; L. ROBERT, *Documents de l'Asie Mineure méridionale: Inscriptions, monnaies et géographie*, Paris 1966, p. 53-58; H. BRACKE, *art. cit.* (n. 7), p. 17.

⁵² Contrary to that, Lykia kept the Macedonian calendar through the Roman period. On the Ptolemaic rule over Lykia under Philadelphos and Euergetes see: TAM II, nos. 1 (Telmessos), 153 (Lissa); J. POUILLOUX, *Choix d'inscriptions grecques*, no. 4 (Araxa); P. ROUSSEL, *REG* 23 (1916), p. 453 (Aspendos); M. SEGRÉ, *Decreto di Aspendos, Aegyptus* xx (1934), p. 253-238; M. LAUNEY, *Recherches sur les armées hellénistiques*, Paris 1950, I, p. 249, 451, 457, 472, 655-657; *Bull. épigr.* 1959, no. 469; L. ROBERT, *op. cit.* (n. 51), p. 54; J. BOUSQUET, *Lettre de Ptolémée Evergète à Xanthos de Lycie*, *REG* 99 (1986), p. 22-32.

⁵³ The text was first published by H.R. HALL, *Greek Inscriptions from Egypt*, CR 12 (1898), p. 274-280. Cf. *SB* V 8771; *Pros. Ptol.* II, VI; M. LAUNEY, *op. cit.* (n. 53), p. 479-476; J. NOLLÉ, *art. cit.* (n. 45), p. 104-106, no. 2.9, who cites previous bibliography.

other southern Pisidian cities close to the Pamphylian coast which changed masters frequently. It is certain that the activities of the Etennian mint were suspended in the third century. Another inscription from Aspendos, dated to the time that the city was controlled by Ptolemy I Soter, mentions Pisidian soldiers serving in the royal army along with Pamphylians, Lycians, Cretans, and Greeks from various unidentified locations⁵⁴. This evidence is also corroborated by another third-century BC inscription from Ras Ibn Hani which also mentions Pisidian and Pamphylian mercenaries. At least three painted grave stelae of Pisidian mercenaries from the Lycian cities of Termessos Minor and Balbura, as well as Pisidian Adada have also been discovered⁵⁵.

THE SELEUCID PERIOD TO 188 BC

The Ptolemaic rule of southern Pisidia was disrupted during the conflict between Achaïos and Antiochos III, and ended during the turbulent years of the Fifth Syrian War between Antiochos and the regents of the under-age king Ptolemy V Epiphanes (202-195 BC). In 198 BC the former swept through the Ptolemaic coastal holdings of Koile-Syria, Phoinike, and the regions between Karia and Kilikia, including southern Pisidia and Pamphylia. Antiochos managed to control the latter Anatolian regions for only a decade and most likely did not get the chance to organize any settlements in the area⁵⁶. The Ptolemies apparently lost

⁵⁴ M. SEGRÉ, *art. cit.* (n. 52), p. 253 (= *SEG* XVII 639); H. HAUBEN, *Philocles, King of the Sidonians and General of the Ptolemies*, in: E. LIPINSKI (ed.), *Studia Phoenicia V. Phoenicia and the East Mediterranean in the First Millennium B.C. (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, 22)*, Leuven 1988, p. 413-427.

⁵⁵ J.-P. REY-COQUAIS, *Inscription grecque découverte à Ras Ibn Hani*, in: *Studia Phoenicia V* (n. 54), p. 50-60 (= *SEG* XXVII [1977], no. 973bis). T. MACRIDY, *RBi* 1904, p. 549-556; P. PERDRIZET, *RA* 1904, I, p. 234-244; G. MENDEL, *Musée de Constantinople. Catalogue des sculptures grecques, romaines et byzantines aux musées impériaux ottomans*, Paris 1914, I, p. 258ff., nos. 102-109; L. ROBERT, *Documents d'Asie Mineure*, *BCH* 59 (1935), p. 428-430; R.S. BAGNALL, *op. cit.* (n. 49), p. 110-114. Termessos Minor belonged to Lycia, but the city was founded by the Pisidian Termessos Major, and part of its population was Pisidian.

⁵⁶ P. GREEN, *Alexander to Actium. The Historical Evolution of the Hellenistic Age*, Berkeley 1990, p. 304; E. GRUEN, *The Hellenistic World and the Coming of Rome*, Berkeley 1990, p. 680-682. Sources for the Fifth Syrian War: Polybios XV 20.6; XVI 18-19, 27.5; Livy XXX 19.8 (on Coele Syria); XXXII 19.8-11 (on coastal raids); Justin XXX 2.8, 3.1-5, 4; XXXI 1.1-2, 2; Josephus, *AJ* XII 130; Appian, *Macedonica* 4; Valerius Maximus VI 6.1. The shrinkage of the Ptolemaic holdings overseas caused a setback in

their interest in the region since they never attempted to organize military campaigns in order to recover it.

There is, as ever, very confusing information in the sources about the nature and extent of Seleucid control over Pisidia. The silence of the sources makes it impossible to tell, for one, whether Seleucid domination came as a result of the collapse of Lysimachos's rule in Asia Minor, whether it coincided with the period of the king of Thrace, or whether the region enjoyed a period of brief independence. The Seleucids were certainly wise enough to allow the local population, to set their own domestic policy. They rarely interfered in the relations between cities, unless they posed a threat to the stability of the region or disrupted communications. To prevent such difficulties the Seleucid kings founded a series of colonies along the northern border between Pisidia and Phrygia. We know the names of a number of Seleucid colonies, like Apollonia, Laodikeia Katakekaumene, and Antiocheia ad Pisidiam, which were all located north of Sagalassos, within Phrygian territory, and which were founded by Antiochos II and Antiochos III. One more colony by the name of Seleukeia Sidera was founded by Seleukos II. It is the only known Seleucid colony within Pisidian territory⁵⁷. These settlements were often founded as κατοικίαι and κῶμαι on the territory of Phrygian and Pisidian cities. Their settlers were Greeks from various localities or Macedonian veterans who became peasants and owner-cultivators. Military forts which accommodated part of the Syrian troops in Asia Minor may have also been located near these Hellenistic settlements.

The presence of Seleucid troops in their area certainly did not bother the Pisidians, since they probably regarded them as necessary during the

trade and brought about an acute shortage of silver in Egypt, thereby causing the break-out of a serious economical crisis, the first in a long series. See: C. PRÉAUX, *Sur les causes de décadence du monde hellénistique*, in: *Atti dell' XI Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia*, Milano 2-8 settembre 1965, Milan 1966, p. 475-498; ID., *Polybe et Ptolémée Philopator*, CE 40 (1965), p. 364-375; T. REEKMANS, *The Ptolemaic Copper Inflation*, in: *Ptolemaica (Studia Hellenistica, 7)*, Leuven 1951, p. 61-118; G.K. JENKINS, *Ancient Greek Coins*, London 1972, p. 245-246; E. WILL, *Histoire politique du monde hellénistique*, Nancy, 1982², I, pp. 107-108; G. LE RIDER, *art. cit.* (n. 42), p. 3-51; E. KOSMETATOU, *op. cit.* (n. 42), p. 4, 7-10.

⁵⁷ Polybios V 72-77; VII 15-18; VIII 15-21; Pompeius Trogus, *Prologos Libri XXX*; D. MAGIE, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor*, Princeton 1950, I, p. 9-10, 97-98; II, p. 737 n. 24; E.V. HANSEN, *The Attalids of Pergamon*, Ithaca 1971, p. 38-43; G. COHEN, *The Seleucid Colonies. Studies in Founding, Administration, and Organization*, Wiesbaden 1978, p. 10, 15, 27, 29, 36, 57, 85; H. BRACKE, *art. cit.* (n. 7), p. 17; G. COHEN, *art. cit.* (n. 20), p. 349-350. Seleukeia Sidera has been plausibly identified with a site between modern-day Isparta and Lake Eğirdir.

second half of the third century BC, a period full of threats to the safety of the Anatolian cities. In this context Seleucid domination came to be viewed as a sort of important security alliance. The need to shore up regional security ties was demonstrated by the Galatian raids of the third century, which undoubtedly rattled nerves throughout the region. The discovery of Galatian arm rings dated to the third century BC near Isparta certainly point to the presence of Galatians close to Sagalassos. Based on this evidence, Müller-Karpe has plausibly argued that the Galatians may have threatened that city directly⁵⁸. Pisidians certainly served as soldiers in the Seleucid army which fought the invaders⁵⁹. Long after the Galatian threat was averted, thanks to the joint efforts of the Seleucids and the Pisidians, the latter took pride in celebrating their relationship with the kingdom of Syria as a successful bilateral relationship that secured for them the benefits of peace and the prosperity of Hellenization. Descendants of Macedonian settlers, as well as locals, carved the «Macedonian» shield, a peculiarly regional type, on their osteothekai and public monuments. In addition, the city of Sagalassos adopted the Indian elephant, an inherently Seleucid symbol, for their state official seal which they used through the Roman period⁶⁰.

⁵⁸ L. MÜLLER-KARPE, *Neue galatische Funde aus Anatolien*, *MDAI(A)* 38 (1988), p. 195-197. The Galatian raid extended as far as Lykia and may have even triggered the decision of the inhabitants of Limyra to erect an imposing temple to Ptolemy II and Arsinoë II in the 270's BC as thanks for the former's contribution to their war effort against the invaders. J. BORCHHARDT – G. STANZL, *Ein hellenistischer Bau des Herrscherkultes. Das Ptolemaion in Limyra*, in: *Götter, Heroen, Herrscher in Lykien*, Wien 1990, p. 79-84, 79-84.

⁵⁹ H. BRACKE, *art. cit.* (n. 7), p. 17, 20; M. WAEKENS, *art. cit.* (n. 7), p. 42, who draws from Livy XXXVIII 15.9.

⁶⁰ B. LEVICK, *Roman Colonies in Southern Asia Minor*, Oxford 1967, p. 16-20; B. BAR-KOCHVA, *The Seleucid Army. Organization and Tactics in the Great Campaigns*, Cambridge 1976, p. 48, 51; M. WAEKENS, *art. cit.* (n. 9), p. 37-82; ID., *Sagalassos. A Preliminary Report*, in: M. WAEKENS – J. POBLOME (eds.), *Sagalassos II. Report on the Second Campaign 1992 (Acta Archaeologica Lovaniensia, Monographiae 6)*, Leuven 1993, p. 9-41. On discussions of the presence of the «Macedonian» shield in Pisidian iconography, see L. ROBERT, *Villes d'Asie Mineure*, Paris 1962, p. 250-251; ID., *Noms indigènes dans l'Asie Mineure gréco-romaine*, Paris 1963, p. 116-218; M. WAEKENS, in: S. MITCHELL – M. WAEKENS, *Cremna and Sagalassos 1987*, *AS* 38 (1988), p. 53-65, pl. I-VII; M. WAEKENS, in: M. WAEKENS – S. MITCHELL, *Sagalassus 1987*, *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı* 6 (1988), p. 201-217; M. WAEKENS, in: S. MITCHELL – E. OWENS – M. WAEKENS, *Ariassos and Sagalassos 1988*, *AS* 39 (1989), p. 67-68; M. LAUNEY, *op. cit.* I (n. 52) p. 354-355; E. KOSMETATOU – M. WAEKENS, *The Macedonian Shields of Sagalassos*, in: M. WAEKENS – J. POBLOME (eds.) *Sagalassos IV (Acta Archaeologica Lovaniensia, Monographiae 9)*, Leuven 1997, p. 277-291. Apart from

This rosy image of a harmonious alliance between the Seleucids and the Pisidians did not last for long, however. Pisidia featured again in the armed conflict between Antiochos III and the usurper Achaïos, which dragged king Attalos I of Pergamon and his dynasty into the Pisidian affairs. Pergamon had been a thorn in the side of all Seleucid kings from Antiochos I to Antiochos III, ever since its secession from Syria in ca. 263 BC. It had risen in wealth, prestige, and power to become a major factor in the politics of the Hellenistic world. Following the Third Syrian («Laodicean») War (246-241 BC), the Seleucid empire went into decline. Dynastic conflicts and an attempt, in 236 BC, on the part of Antiochos Hierax of Syria to overthrow king Attalos I of Pergamon prompted the latter to retaliate and conquer all of the Syrian usurper's holdings in Asia Minor. These included Lydia, parts of Phrygia, and Karia. Attalos also attempted to move eastwards into Pisidia, which he may have temporarily controlled from 228 to 223 BC. Achaïos, governor of Asia Minor and maternal uncle of Antiochos III of Syria, managed to defeat Attalos and forced him back to Pergamon. Encouraged by his military successes, and while Antiochos III was occupied in Syria by his conflict with Ptolemy IV Philopator, Achaïos proclaimed himself king and usurped power⁶¹. He secured the aid of Antiochos's enemy Ptolemy IV of Egypt and settled in Pisidia from 218 to 216 BC, presumably in the Ptolemaic southern part. The area had the additional advantage that it was located far from the Seleucid settlements in the north, whose settlers, most of them former Seleucid mercenaries, did not support him⁶².

A year after Achaïos's assumption of the diadem, Ptolemy IV defeated Antiochos III at Raphia. After the conclusion of peace between the two kings, Ptolemy deserted Achaïos. The usurper then promptly decided to exploit the continuing conflict between the kings of Egypt

osteothekai bearing a «Macedonian» shield, this emblem is also carved on the two Julio-Claudian triumphal arches of Sagalassos. For the adoption of the elephant by the Sagalassians see K. VANDORPE, *A Sagalassos City Seal*, in: M. WAELKENS – J. POBLOME (eds.), *Sagalassos III (Acta Archaeologica Lovaniensia, Monographiae 7)*, Leuven 1995, p. 299-305.

⁶¹ Polybios IV 48.11-13; E.V. HANSEN, *op. cit.* (n. 57), p. 36-37; E.R. BEVAN, *The House of Seleucus*, London 1902, I, p. 202-203.

⁶² The Seleucid troops had already abandoned Achaïos when he proclaimed himself king. See: Polybios IV 48.11-13; E. BADIEN, *Gnomon* 38 (1966), p. 714. Fleeing to Ptolemaic territories had become standard practice for Seleucid usurpers since 227 BC, when Antiochos Hierax fled to Ephesos to escape from Seleukos II. See: P. GREEN, *op. cit.* (n. 56), p. 264.

and Syria and gain territories from both kingdoms, particularly in the southern part of Pisidia⁶³. There is little information regarding the reaction of the Pisidians to the fact that their territory became once again the launching pad for an ambitious general and they themselves a pawn in dynastic struggles. It is plausible to assume, however, that some cities, fearing Achaïos's power, accepted him as leader. In particular, we hear that he subjected Milyas, along with a large part of Pamphylia, and that he successfully settled a dispute between Pednelissos and Selge, when the latter besieged the former⁶⁴. Achaïos's rule over Pisidia did not last long, however. In 216 BC, he marched against Sardis in order to fight Attalos I, who in the meantime had concluded an alliance with Antiochos III against Achaïos. The two kings blockaded Achaïos at Sardis, and Antiochos captured the usurper in 213 BC, as he was trying to escape, and executed him in a horrible way⁶⁵. Once more, Pisidia returned to the control of the Seleucid kingdom and it remained part of Syria from 216 to 188 BC. During that time, a revolt north of Side, on the Pamphylian/Pisidian border, forced Antiochos III to undertake a campaign in order to pacify that troubled area⁶⁶.

PISIDIA UNDER THE ATTALIDS OF PERGAMON (188-133 BC)

Pisidia was permanently lost to the Seleucids when Antiochos III and his army, which included Pisidian mercenaries, were defeated by Eumenes II of Pergamon and his Roman allies in the battle of Magnesia in 189 BC⁶⁷. The Attalid kingdom was significantly extended following the Treaty of Apamea in 188 BC, as the Romans, who had in the meantime come to dictate foreign policy to the Hellenistic world, awarded Eumenes significant territories which included Pisidia and Pamphylia. It appears that the Pergamene king initially decided to follow a more

⁶³ H.H. SCHMITT, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte Antiochos' des Großen und seiner Zeit*, Wiesbaden 1964, p. 171-173; cf. review by E. BADIEN, *Gnomon* 38 (1966), p. 713-714.

⁶⁴ Polybios V 72-77; VII 15-18; VIII 15-21; Pompeius Trogus, *Prologos libri XXX*; D. MAGIE, *op. cit.* (n. 57), I, p. 9-11, 97-98; II, p. 737 n. 24; E.V. HANSEN, *op. cit.* (n. 57), p. 38-43.

⁶⁵ Polybios V 72-78, 107.4, 7, 15-18; VIII 15-23; B.A. VAN PROSDI, *De Morte Achaei*, *Hermes* 69 (1934), p. 347-350; P. GREEN, *op. cit.* (n. 56), p. 293.

⁶⁶ Livy XXXV 13.5.

⁶⁷ Livy XXXVIII 15.9. The Pisidian troops fought as caetrati (targeteers).

assertive policy towards Pisidia and Pamphylia than his Seleucid predecessors. It became evident before long, however, that this was a difficult task, and that the most that he could hope for would be nominal control of parts of the region. By the second century BC, the area had become an ideal headquarters for pirates, and certain Pisidian cities may have cooperated with them in order to ensure the safety of their trade⁶⁸. Eumenes II of Pergamon reportedly undertook a campaign against Selge in 165 BC, possibly in an attempt to punish the city for having come to such an understanding with the pirates⁶⁹. The difficulties that Eumenes encountered while attempting to pacify Pisidia did not escape his enemy Prusias II of Bithynia, who urged the Selgians to ask the Romans to discipline the ambitious Pergamenes⁷⁰. Although no ancient reports referring to the reaction of the Roman Senate have survived, it is plausible to assume that the Romans arbitrated the dispute in favor of the Selgians. Such a policy would be consistent with the Senate's efforts since the late 170's BC to check Eumenes's growing power and ambitions⁷¹. On the other hand, piracy continued to pose a serious threat to the regular flow of trade, and a series of Roman campaigns were undertaken against them in the first century BC.

Eumenes II faced more trouble with the Pisidians towards the end of his reign. A letter of his brother and successor Attalos, dated ca. 162-160 BC and addressed to the city of Amlada to the northwest of Pisidia, informs us that its inhabitants had created some kind of problem for the Pergamene king. They may have allied with the Galatians against Pergamon during the turbulent 160's (168-165 BC). They were promptly defeated by Attalos, and forced to pay an indemnity of 9000 drachms, for the repair of damaged royal property, and to surrender an undisclosed number of hostages⁷². Amlada was a relatively wealthy city, famous for its production of wine, but was apparently seriously hurt by the war and as a result could not meet its payments including the annual

⁶⁸ B. LEVICK, *op. cit.* (n. 9), p. 20; A.H.M. JONES, *op. cit.* (n. 9), p. 131.

⁶⁹ Pompeius Trogus, *Prologus Libri* 34.

⁷⁰ D. MAGIE, *op. cit.* (n. 57), I, p. 280, II, p. 767 n. 65, 1159 n. 6; J. NOLLÉ – F. SCHINDLER, *Die Inschriften von Selge*, Bonn 1991, p. 13 n. 11; H. BRACKE, *art. cit.* (n. 7), p. 17.

⁷¹ E. GRUEN, *op. cit.* (n. 56), p. 243, 247, 269, 573-578, 581; E. KOSMETATOU, *op. cit.* (n. 42), p. 63 n. 75, where previous bibliography is cited.

⁷² C.B. WELLES, *Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period: A Study in Greek Epigraphy*, Chicago 1974 (repr. 1934), p. 237-241 no. 54, where previous bibliography is cited; M. HOLLEAUX, *REA* 20 (1918), p. 17-19.

tax of 3000 drachms⁷³. Its inhabitants therefore chose to cooperate with the Attalids and the nearby garrison in order to achieve privileges which would allow them to resurrect their destroyed economy. The events can be reconstructed as follows: The Amladeis dispatched a letter to the Pergamene court asking the king to discuss their financial problems with their envoys. In it they probably also expressed their repentance for their previous behaviour and assured Eumenes II of their devotion to him and of their future goodwill. The contents of this letter, which has unfortunately not survived, can be reconstructed on the basis of the surviving fragmentary response. The phrasing of the surviving royal letter suggests that it was probably written by Attalos, who was assigned this case at a time that his administrative responsibilities grew, just before he became co-ruler in 160 BC, and when king Eumenes II was already seriously ill⁷⁴. Attalos was probably more than willing to show benevolence in exchange for peace and stability and therefore granted the Amladeis their request. His policy certainly paid off to judge from the contents of another letter that Attalos, at that time king of Pergamon, sent to Amlada in ca. 153 BC. In it he carefully avoids any explicit reference to previous offences on the part of the Amladeis and refers to the period that the city allied with the Galatians as a time that their area was «occupied» by the barbarians. He does, however, diplomatically remind them of his benevolence towards the city about a decade earlier. From this letter we also learn that the grateful Amladeis cooperated with the Pergamene administration and showered king Attalos II and his nephew and successor Attalos III with honors which included the dedication of expensive statues at the city's sanctuaries⁷⁵.

Attalos II was less successful in securing the goodwill and cooperation of other Pisidian cities. He reportedly invaded Selge, immediately after his assumption of the throne in 159 BC, with an army which may have included Pisidian mercenaries⁷⁶. The result of this campaign is unknown, but it may again have been pirate-related, as we hear that

⁷³ Strabo XII 7.2 (570); Appian, *Bel. Civ.* V 15.17.

⁷⁴ H. SWOBODA – J. KEIL – F. KNOLL, *Denkmäler aus Lykaonien, Pamphylien und Isaurien*, Prag–Leipzig–Wien 1935, p. 33-35 nos. 74-75.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 34-35 no. 75.

⁷⁶ Bean published an inscription from Pogla honoring an identifiable man who may have served in the army of Attalos II. The restoration and interpretation of this inscription remain tentative, however, and it is unclear whether the honoree was a mercenary or a Pisidian high-ranking official of the Pergamene court. See: G.E. BEAN, *op. cit.* (n. 15), p. 56-59 no. 103, pl. VII (d).

the region constituted a problem area throughout the first century BC. The Roman Senate may have chosen to follow its usual policy of preventing the Attalid king from dealing the final blow to the pirates and their allies. By that time, it had become evident to Attalos II that the best course for him was to go along with the Senate's wishes which reduced his activities to mere damage control in his troubled territories. One of the letters that the king sent to his ally, the Galatian priest of Cybele Attis at Pessinus, is particularly revealing on this issue. He refers to the continuing troubles, caused by rebellious Galatians, with which both himself and his late brother Eumenes II were forbidden to deal effectively by the Senate⁷⁷. Attalos comments on Rome's obsession with the balance of power in Asia and confesses that he would never dare to undertake any action without prior approval from Rome. By doing so, he would only provoke jealousy if he succeeded and satisfaction if he failed⁷⁸. Less than a hundred years later the Pisidian Orondeis, who lived near Selge, and the neighbouring Isaurians were as well organized and as involved in piracy as ever. The Romans eventually decided to deal with them by organizing a campaign headed by P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus who defeated the pirate king Zeniketes in a series of battles in 77 BC⁷⁹. A second campaign followed in 74 BC, and it was undertaken by Marcus Antonius. An inscription recording honours for that general has been discovered on Delos, the Hellenistic center for «international» trade and was set up by the grateful citizens of the Pisidian city of Prostanna, who suffered from the plague of piracy⁸⁰. A third campaign was undertaken by Gnaeus Pompeius in 69 BC⁸¹.

⁷⁷ See above n. 70.

⁷⁸ C.B. WELLES, *op. cit.* (n. 72), p. 245-247, 252-253, 261, no. 61.

⁷⁹ H.A. ORMEROD, *Piracy in the Ancient World*, New York, 1987, p. 219; *id.*, *The Campaigns of Servilius Isauricus against the Pirates*, *JRS* 12 (1992), p. 35-52; H. BRACKE, *art. cit.* (n. 7), p. 18-19. The Romans created the province of Cilicia in order to station a permanent military occupation force. They incorporated most of Pisidia into that province and awarded Northern Pisidia to the Galatian king Amyntas in 39 BC.

⁸⁰ Prostanna is located in modern-day Eğirdir. The inscription in question is discussed in G. DOUBLET, *Bas-relief et inscriptions de Délos*, *BCH* 16 (1892), p. 155; cf. also Plutarch, *Lucullus* 6; F. DURRBACH, *Choix d'inscriptions de Délos* I 1-2, Paris 1921-1922, p. 202 n. 123; A. MACHATCHEK – M. SCHWARZ, *Bauforschungen in Selge*, Wien 1981, p. 16. The so-called Ara of Domitius Ahenobarbus featuring a relief with a census scene has been associated by some scholars with Marcus Antonius's victory against the pirates. Marcus Antonius was censor in 97 BC. See M. TORELLI, *Typology and Structure of Roman Historical Reliefs*, Ann Arbor 1992, p. 15, where previous bibliography is listed.

⁸¹ Appian, *Mithr.* 94-96, 115; Cicero, *De Imp. Cn. Pomp.* 31-35; Dio XXXVI 20-37; Eutropius, 6.12; Florus 3.6; Orosius VI 4; Plutarch, *Pomp.* 24-27; Velleius II 31; Zonaras X 3.

However, in a well-calculated attempt to undermine Selge, Attalos II decided to patronize its archrival Termessos and promote the latter's economic and urban development by building a stoa for the city's agora⁸². Royal patronage was often successfully used by the Attalids as a peaceful way to establish their control over subject and allied cities and to promote their dynastic propaganda. They usually financed the construction of large utilitarian buildings or offered substantial financial assistance⁸³. The Termessian stoa of Attalos is located NW of the city's agora along a well-preserved road, is made of local limestone, and was identified by its dedicatory inscription which runs: [βασιλεὺς Ἀτταλοῦ Φιλάδεω]φ[ος βασι]λέω[ς] Ἀ[τ]τά[λου καὶ βα]σ[ι]λίσσης Ἀπολλωνίδος ...]⁸⁴. Without excavations a reconstruction of this stoa remains problematic. All that can be said is that it was a straight, free-standing, two-aisled, and possibly two-storeyed Doric building which bore resemblance to the stoa that Attalos II built in the Athenian agora (ca. 150 BC). It was about 58 m. long and 17 m. deep⁸⁵.

In cultivating the goodwill of Termessos, Attalos II did not merely try to undermine Selge. He also sought to ensure the cooperation of the Termessians, who lived on the important trade route leading to the newly founded city of Attaleia in Pamphylia, an important Attalid harbor since 158 BC⁸⁶. Termessian–Attalid relations probably remained uneasy, however. Following the policy of their predecessors in the region, the Pergamene kings had in all likelihood allowed Termessos some autonomy. In an attempt to display its strength and to warn the kings that they were ready to fight hard for their privileged position, the Termessians concluded a treaty with the city of Adada. According to its text, the two cities promised to help each other against a third enemy. Most interestingly, they added a stipulation against tyranny, the enemy of the established democratic institutions⁸⁷.

⁸² K. LANCKORONSKI, *op. cit.* (n. 40), p. 40-42; J.J. COULTON, *The Architectural Development of the Greek Stoa*, Oxford 1976, p. 69; L.R. SEDDON, *op. cit.* (n. 15) 39-42; H. BRACKE, *art. cit.* (n. 7), 19; E. KOSMETATOU, *op. cit.* (n. 42), p. 225.

⁸³ E. KOSMETATOU, *op. cit.* (n. 42), p. 23-40, 152-153.

⁸⁴ R. HEBERDEY, *Tituli Asiae Minoris collecti et editi auspiciis Academiae Litterarum Vindobonensis*, vol. III: *Tituli Pisidiae*, fasc. I: *Tituli Termessi et agri Termessensis*, Wien 1941, no. 9.

⁸⁵ K. LANCKORONSKI, *op. cit.* (n. 40), p. 40-42; J.J. COULTON, *op. cit.* (n. 82), p. 69, 287.

⁸⁶ E.V. HANSEN, *op. cit.* (n. 57), p. 178-179, 453; G. COHEN, *op. cit.* (n. 57), p. 10; E. KOSMETATOU, *op. cit.* (n. 42), p. 249-250; G. COHEN, *op. cit.* (n. 20), p. 337-338. Attaleia's first settlers were Pergamenes.

⁸⁷ TAM III 1.2; G.E. BEAN, *Notes and Inscriptions from Pisidia I*, AS 9 (1959), p. 96-97; D. MAGIE, *op. cit.* (n. 57), I, p. 294. The inscription in question dates either to the reign of Eumenes II or of Attalos II.

This independent-mindedness did not escape Attalos who was a shrewd politician. Winter has plausibly argued that the Kapikaya wall which was built east of Termessos, with its towers turned towards that city, and which dates to the Hellenistic period, was probably built by Attalos II as a precaution against possible skirmishes initiated by the Termessians⁸⁸.

Very little is known about Attalid colonization attempts in Pisidia during the second century BC. Some relevant activity in the area cannot be excluded, judging from the fact that the Attalids showed a vivid interest in stabilizing the region. They probably retained and supported the Seleucid Macedonian foundations, but their main interest was probably in the foundation of military outposts which guarded the area. The recently discovered and surveyed second-century BC Hellenistic fort in the territory of Panemoteichos may have been such a settlement. It was located on the isolated rocky hill of Ören Tepe, on a crossroads, and probably controlled two routes: one connecting Pamphylia with Asia Minor, and another one which ran north through Sagalassos to central Anatolia. The fort was enclosed by a monumental fortification wall, which was pear-shaped, had three large rectangular towers, and whose gateway faced the site of Panemoteichos. A series of rooms, built against the fortification walls, opened to a street. It appears that most identified structures were utilitarian and military in character, and that the fort was in use for only a short time. One may therefore conclude that this garrison never evolved into a civilian settlement. Because the fort is securely dated to the second half of the second century BC, and does not appear to be typically Pisidian, it has been plausibly associated with the activities of Attalos II in the area soon after the foundation of the colony of Pamphylian Attaleia in 158 BC⁸⁹. If that is the case, one may conclude that Pergamene troops were stationed near Panemoteichos, probably with the consent of the local residents, in order to control the routes connecting the important harbour of Attaleia with the rest of Anatolia⁹⁰.

At any rate, Attalid efforts to control certain places in Pisidia may have partly paid off, judging from the scarce evidence. Ariassos, a city

⁸⁸ F.E. WINTER, *Notes on Military Architecture in the Termessos Region*, *AJA* 70 (1966), p. 127-137; H. BRACKE, *art. cit.* (n. 7), p. 18. For a discussion of Pisidian fortifications see: L. LOOTS, *De versterkingen van Sagalassos van de hellenistische tot de laat-antieke tijd*, unpubl. B.A. thesis, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven 1996.

⁸⁹ G. COHEN, *op. cit.* (n. 20), p. 337-338.

⁹⁰ S. MITCHELL, *Three Cities in Pisidia* (n. 13), p. 136-144; ID., *Pisidian Survey, Anatolian Archaeology* 1995, p. 16-17. The hill of Ören Tepe on the territory of Panemoteichos on which the Late Hellenistic fort is built is locally known as Asar.

near Termessos, for example, adopted an era beginning in 189 BC, the date of Antiochos's defeat at Magnesia, shortly before the Attalids annexed Pisidia⁹¹. But this fact does not necessarily suggest that the Attalids were in any way more popular masters in Pisidia than their predecessors. No honorary inscriptions for the kings themselves or for any of their officials have been discovered so far. And there are no indications for the establishment of an Attalid royal cult in the region. A dedicatory inscription which was discovered in Phrygian Antioch ad Pisidiam, close to the Pisidian border, was interpreted by Robinson as a reference to a formal cult in honor of king Attalos III, the son of Eumenes II. Its text was arbitrarily restored by Robinson as follows:

[Εὐκράτ]ης? Ἡλιοδῶρ
[ου γενόμ]ενος ἱερεὺς
[Ἀττάλου? τ]οῦ Εὐμένο[υ]
[τῷ ἀδελφ]ῷ

Ramsay pointed out that evidence associating this inscription with the Attalids was simply non-existent and offered a different and more plausible reconstruction in accordance to similar texts that were discovered in the area⁹².

[- - -]ης Ἡλιοδῶρ
[ου γενόμ]ενος ἱερεὺς
[τοῦ θεοῦ τ]οῦ Εὐμένο[υ]
[Μηνι θε]ῷ.

In addition to Ramsay's reservations regarding Robinson's reconstruction, one should also point out that the later Attalid kings appeared on all inscriptions with their royal titles and were never deified during their lifetime⁹³.

⁹¹ Arriassos kept this new era at least until the third century AD. Cf. W.M. RAMSAY, *Micrasiana*, B3, *L'ère d'Ariasos*, REG 1 (1893), p. 255-257; ID., *Studies in the Roman Province Galatia*, JRS 12 (1922), p. 182; S. MITCHELL – W. OWENS – M. WAELKENS, *Arriassos and Sagalassos* 1988, AS 39 (1989), p. 63; S. MITCHELL, *Hellenismus in Pisidien* (n. 9), p. 1-27. The same era was also used at neighbouring Apollonia ad Pisidiam, even after the Roman province was organized in 25 BC.

⁹² W.M. RAMSAY, *art. cit.*, (n. 26), p. 274-275; SEG VI 579. Unfortunately neither Ramsay nor the editors of SEG cite Robinson's original publication of the inscription.

⁹³ A notable exception is the deification of Eumenes II by his brother Attalos at the time that he was presumed dead by everybody, while he was recovering at Aigina after an assassination attempt against him which was allegedly organized by Philip V in 168 BC. See Polybios XXII 20.1-8; Plutarch, *Apophth.* 184A-B; Dio XX 3; Dio XIX (Zonaras IX 24);

On the economic front, the Attalids may have been as successful as their predecessors. Antigonos's attempts to establish Alexander's monetary system in the area had met with only limited success. This was partly due to the fact that most Pisidian cities did not mint coins, and Antigonos's rule over the region was never securely established. Indeed Selge and Etenna followed their own monetary system and retained the old Persian standard for their limited early third century BC independent series, and Selge even managed to maintain the activities of its autonomous mint under the Ptolemies and Seleucids and presumably its independence as well. Following the defeat of Antiochos III at Magnesia in 189 BC, Eumenes II introduced an important monetary reform. The new Pergamene coins were known as cistophori and were minted, probably as early as the 170's BC, in a new, reduced standard which the king imposed on his territory. On the other hand, coins in the old Attic weight continued to be struck in limited quantities and were used for external trade⁹⁴. Although the Attalid kings retained a firm control over the mints of most of their new territories, including Pamphylia, the evidence suggests that their influence over Pisidia was less than complete. Cistophori were mostly struck by mints which had been active for a while and were relatively close to Pergamon. In this respect, Pisidia was totally unsuitable, as the region was not only located beyond immediate reach, but was in addition far from peaceful. Significantly, at the time of Eumenes II's reform, Selge dropped the Persian standard, which they had been following for centuries, and adopted a new one which Hill identified as debased Rhodian and Head as Attic. A study of Selge's coinage will definitely shed light on this problem and will answer many questions. However, the fact remains that the city ostentatiously pursued its independent policies, even though joining Eumenes II's monetary system would offer significant advantages in trade with the Pergamene markets⁹⁵.

OGIS 301-304; W.S. FERGUSON, *The Premature Deification of Eumenes II*, CPh 1 (1906), p. 231-234; E. KOSMETATOU, *op. cit.* (n. 42), p. 142-172 (where previous bibliography is cited).

⁹⁴ The date for the introduction of the cistophoric coinage by Eumenes II remains the subject of a fierce debate among scholars. For the most important discussion on the subject see: G. LE RIDER, *Un tétradrachme d'Athéna Niképhoros*, RN 15 (1973), p. 66-79; F.S. KLEINER – S.P. NOE, *The Early Cistophoric Coinage*, New York 1977; R.A. BAUSLAUGH, *The Unique Portraits on the Tetradrachms of Eumenes II*, ANSMN 27 (1982), p. 39-51; G. LE RIDER, *La politique monétaire du royaume de Pergame après 188*, JS 1989, p. 163-190; R.A. BAUSLAUGH, *Cistophoric Countermarks and the Monetary System of Eumenes II*, NC 1990, p. 39-65; E. KOSMETATOU, *op. cit.* (n. 42), p. 52-69.

⁹⁵ G.F. HILL, *op. cit.* (n. 44) p. 260; B.V. HEAD, *Historia Nummorum. A Manual of Greek Numismatics*, London 1910, p. 711-712. In the second and first centuries BC, the

Attalid involvement and patronage in Pisidia left a lasting mark on the development of the architecture and art of the region. Greek artistic influences had apparently found a fertile ground already during the Seleucid rule, and a few Pisidian cities had adopted elements of the Greek culture since the early Hellenistic period⁹⁶. A Hellenistic Corinthian style capital from Sagalassos, which was found in the area of the NW Heroon, reflects the tradition of the Seleucid capitals from the Olympieion at Athens, which are dated to ca. 175-164 BC⁹⁷. Attalid influence seems to have gone deeper, however. The early Hellenization process can be best observed at Termessos. Various scholars have pointed out similarities between the Attalid agoras at Athens, Aigai, and Assos, which were financed by the Attalids, on one hand, and the agora layout at Termessos, on the other⁹⁸. Pergamene art also seems to have influenced the artist of the «Iphigeneia Reliefs», from the temple of Artemis at Termessos, which bear resemblance with the Telephos frieze of the Altar of Zeus at Pergamon. The Pergamene Altar probably also provided the model for the Gigantomachy frieze from the Termessian temple of Zeus Solymeus, which is dated to the Imperial period and featured Apollo and Zeus fighting snake-legged giants⁹⁹. Termessian artists were in all probability influenced directly by their Pergamene colleagues, when the latter arrived in the city in order to supervise the building of the local stoa of Attalos. As Korres has recently convincingly argued in his study of the stoa of Eumenes II at Athens, the Attalid kings not only financed their donations, but also provided the artists and,

Selgians struck silver coins in the following denominations: didrachms featuring bearded Heracles on the obverse and a torch-bearing Artemis on the reverse; and drachms featuring the head of bearded Heracles on the obverse and a club and shrub in flower base on the reverse.

⁹⁶ A study of the early Hellenistic rock-cut tombs at Termessos reveals that local art had been influenced by both Greek and Lycian artistic developments; K. LANCKORONSKI, *op. cit.* (n. 40), p. 64-75; A. PEKRIDOU, *op. cit.* (n. 40); M. WAELENS, *Die kleinasiatischen Türsteine*, Mainz 1986, p. 26-28.

⁹⁷ M. WAELENS – S. MITCHELL, *Sagalassos and Cremna 1986* (n. 60), p. 38; *ibid.*, *Sagalassos 1986* (n. 60), p. 233-234, fig. 4; M. WAELENS, *art. cit.* (n. 9), p. 43.

⁹⁸ S. MITCHELL, *Hellenismus in Pisidien* (n. 7), p. 10-11; H. BRACKE, *art. cit.* (n. 7), p. 24-25.

⁹⁹ K. LANCKORONSKI, *op. cit.* (n. 40), p. 47-50, figs. 5, 7-8; F. VIAN, *Répertoire des gigantomachies figurées dans l'art grec et romain*, Paris, 1951, no. 51, pl. 9; K. STÄHLER, *Zu den Iphigeniereliefs in Termessos*, *AA* 1968, p. 280-289. The gigantomachy frieze from the temple of Lagina at Lykia also appears to have been influenced by the iconography of the Pergamene Altar of Zeus. See A. SCHÖBER, *Der Fries des Hekations von Lagina (Istnabuler Forschungen, 2)*, Wien 1933; A. STEWART, *Greek Sculpture*, New Haven 1990, p. 226.

in some cases, even a large part of the building materials. The dedication of a new Attalid building was thus not only an important socio-political event for a city; it was also an occasion for the transmission of contemporary artistic currents, techniques, and taste¹⁰⁰. In the case of Pisidia, the Termessians probably contributed to the diffusion of the Pergamene artistic tendencies and styles in the region. Artistic influence was probably also exercised by the neighbouring Attalid colony of Attaleia in Pamphylia whose early settlers were Pergamenes¹⁰¹.

Similar Pergamene influence on the local artistic developments can be detected in the monuments of other Pisidian cities. The trapezoidal plan of the Hellenistic agoras at Selge, as well as that of the Roman Upper Agora at Sagalassos, bear similarities to the agoras of Aigai and Assos which were largely sponsored by the Attalids and therefore reflect Pergamene influence¹⁰². The architectural style of the agora market buildings at Pednelissos, Selge, and Adada may also owe a lot to Attalid originals, one of which was certainly the well-preserved «Market Building» at Aigai¹⁰³. The Pergamene style is also credited with influencing the sculpture which decorated several Sagalassian monuments of the Late Hellenistic and Roman periods, such as the loggia reliefs from the Bouleuterion and the frieze reliefs of the NE and NW Heroa of the city¹⁰⁴.

¹⁰⁰ M. KORRES, *Vorfertigung und Ferntransport eines athenischen Großbaus und zur Proportionierung von Säulen in der hellenistischen Architektur*, in: *Bauplanung und Theorie der Antike (Diskussionen zur archäologischen Bauforschung, 4)*, Berlin 1983, p. 201-207.

¹⁰¹ E.V. HANSEN, *op. cit.* (n. 57), p. 165.

¹⁰² S. MITCHELL, *Hellenismus in Pisidien* (n. 7), p. 10; H. BRACKE, *art. cit.* (n. 7), p. 24-25, 27; M. WAEKENS, *art. cit.* (n. 7), p. 43; ID., *art. cit.* (n. 9), p. 15, figs. 21-26; ID., *A Preliminary Report*, in: M. WAEKENS – J. POBLOME (eds), *Sagalassos II (Acta Archaeologica Lovaniensia, Monographiae 6)*, Leuven 1993, p. 15, figs. 21-26. The Upper Agora of Sagalassos in its current form dates to the Imperial period, but it seems that the square had been laid out by the second century BC. During recent excavations in the area, a drachm of Side dating to ca. 250-190 BC was discovered under the slabs of the agora pavement, on top of the remains of an older, presumably Hellenistic monument. Cf. L. VANDEPUT, *The Architectural Decoration in Roman Asia Minor (Studies in Eastern Mediterranean Archaeology, 1)*, Leuven 1997, p. 15.

¹⁰³ For a discussion of possible Attalid influence on Sagalassian monuments see: E. KOSMETATOU – L. VANDEPUT – M. WAEKENS, *The NE Heroon at Sagalassos*, in: M. WAEKENS – J. POBLOME (eds.), *Sagalassos IV. Report on the Fourth Campaign 1994 (Acta Archaeologica Lovaniensia, 9)*, Leuven 1996, p. 353-366. For the market buildings of Pednelissos, Adada, and Aigai see: R. BOHN, *Altertümer von Aegae, (Suppl. II des Jahrbuchs des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts)*, Berlin 1889, p. 10-30; S. MITCHELL, *art. cit.* (n. 7), p. 14-20; H. BRACKE, *art. cit.* (n. 7), p. 27-28, figs. 10-11.

¹⁰⁴ On the Bouleuterion of Sagalassos see: S. MITCHELL – M. WAEKENS, *Sagalassos and Cremna 1986* (n. 60), p. 40-42, fig. 2, pl. III (a), (b); M. WAEKENS – S. MITCHELL,

Upon his death in 133 BC, Attalos III bequeathed his kingdom to the Romans who, after suppressing the revolt of the usurper Aristonikos (133-130 BC), annexed it. Most of the Pergamene territories became part of the Roman province of Asia, which was organized between 129 and 123 BC¹⁰⁵. The fate of Pisidia in the new state of affairs is not clear. It was either placed under the nominal control of Ariarathes V of Kapadokia, a client-king of the Romans, or remained autonomous. Whatever the case, it seems that at least certain cities, like Termessos, enjoyed autonomy for a long time, and they promptly advertised this privilege on their coinage¹⁰⁶. In the first century BC, most of Pisidia, with the possible exception of a few autonomous cities, was incorporated into the new province of Kilikia, while its northern part was awarded to Amyntas of Galatia, a client-king of the Romans¹⁰⁷. The history of Pisidia in the early Imperial period is full of complicated problems which are beyond the scope of this paper.

It is difficult to determine whether it was a belated appreciation for the cultural gifts of the Hellenistic kings, or a reaction against the increasing Roman influence, which prompted the Pisidians to turn to, and celebrate, their Greek past. Indeed, during the early Imperial period, we find the Sagalassians proudly referring to Alexander the Great and their «Seleucid past» by representing the Macedonian conqueror on their coins, as well as a «Macedonian» and an adapted shield on the honorific arches which they erected on the Upper Agora of the city in

Sagalassus 1986 (n. 60), p. 236-237, 242-244, figs. 5, 7-8; M. WAELKENS, *art. cit.* (n. 9), p. 43-44, figs. 27-29 (where parallels to the Bouleuterion at Selge are drawn: See also A. MACHATCHEK – M. SCHWARZ, *op. cit.* [n. 80], p. 49-53, 85-88, pls. V, XVI). On the NE Heroon see: E. KOSMETATOU – L. VANDEPUT – M. WAELKENS, *art. cit.* (n. 103), p. 353-366. On the frieze featuring dancing maidens from the NW Heroon of Sagalassos see: R. FLEISCHER, *Zur Datierung des Frieses von Sagalassos*, AA, 1984, p. 141-144; ID., *Der hellenistische Fries von Sagalassos in Pisidien*, AW 12.1 (1981), p. 3-16; H. BRACKE, *art. cit.* (n. 9), p. 26 n. 96, where previous bibliography is cited; M. WAELKENS, *art. cit.* (n. 9), p. 42-43, figs. 23-24.

¹⁰⁵ K.J. RIGSBY, *The Era of the Province of Asia*, *Phoenix* 33 (1979), p. 39-47; E. GRUEN, *op. cit.* (n. 56), p. 603; P. GREEN *op. cit.* (n. 56), p. 531.

¹⁰⁶ R. FLEISCHER, *Forschungen in Sagalassos 1972 und 1974*, *MDAI(I)* 29 (1979), p. 277; D.H. FRENCH, *Sites and Inscriptions from Phrygia, Pisidia, and Pamphylia*, *Epigraphica Anatolica* 17 (1991), p. 51-68, pl. 6-11; H. BRACKE, *art. cit.* (n. 7), p. 18; M. WAELKENS, *art. cit.* (n. 7), p. 42-43. The legend ΤΕΡΜΗΣΣΕΩΝ ΜΕΙΖΟΝΩΝ ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΩΝ figures on the coins of Termessos of the Imperial period. A study of all Termessian coins is in preparation by E. Kosmetatou; cf. also E. KOSMETATOU, *art. cit.* (n. 4), *SNR* 76 (1997), p. 41-63.

¹⁰⁷ Strabo XII 5.3-8.2 (568-571); Dio XLIX 32.3; B. LEVICK, *op. cit.* (n. 9), p. 25-28; H. BRACKE, *art. cit.* (n. 7), p. 18-19.

honour of the Julio-Claudian emperors¹⁰⁸. At that time, they also adopted the Indian elephant as the symbol of their city, which they represented on their official seal¹⁰⁹. Very rapidly, a competition between Anatolian cities to obtain links to an even more remote Greek historical past would make them claim descent from the Spartans and represent the «Hero Lakedaimonios» as the founding hero of their city on their coins¹¹⁰. The widespread hellenization of the region in the Late Hellenistic and Roman period can be witnessed in most Pisidian cities which adopted the Greek political organization and institutions and constructed public buildings, such as bouleuteria, theatres, and Greek-style agoras¹¹¹. The local population also wholeheartedly adopted the Greek language judging from the overwhelming numbers of recovered Greek texts, as opposed to the very few stones which were inscribed in the local Pisidian language.

CONCLUSIONS

In conclusion then, the existing evidence suggests that relations between the Hellenistic kings and Pisidia were far from smooth and cordial. The various city-states cherished their autonomy, and their population was unwilling to play the role of docile and obedient subjects. Frequent

¹⁰⁸ On coins from Sagalassos minted under Claudius II in 268-270 AD a victorious Alexander and a local soldier are represented. E. LEVANTE in collaboration with P. WEISS, *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum. France, 3: Cabinet des Medailles. Pamphylie-Pisidie-Lycaonie-Galatie*, Zürich 1994, pl. 102, no. 1853; P. WEISS, *Pisidien: eine historische Landschaft im Lichte ihrer Münzprägung*, in: *Forschungen in Pisidien* (n. 9), p. 143-166. On the Macedonian shields of Sagalassos see M. WAELENS – S. MITCHELL, *Sagalassos and Cremna 1986* (n. 60), p. 63, pl. VIc; IID., *Sagalassos 1987* (n. 60), p. 205, fig. 11; M. WAELENS, *art. cit.* (n. 7), p. 46; E. KOSMETATOU – M. WAELENS, *art. cit.* (n. 60), p. 277-291.

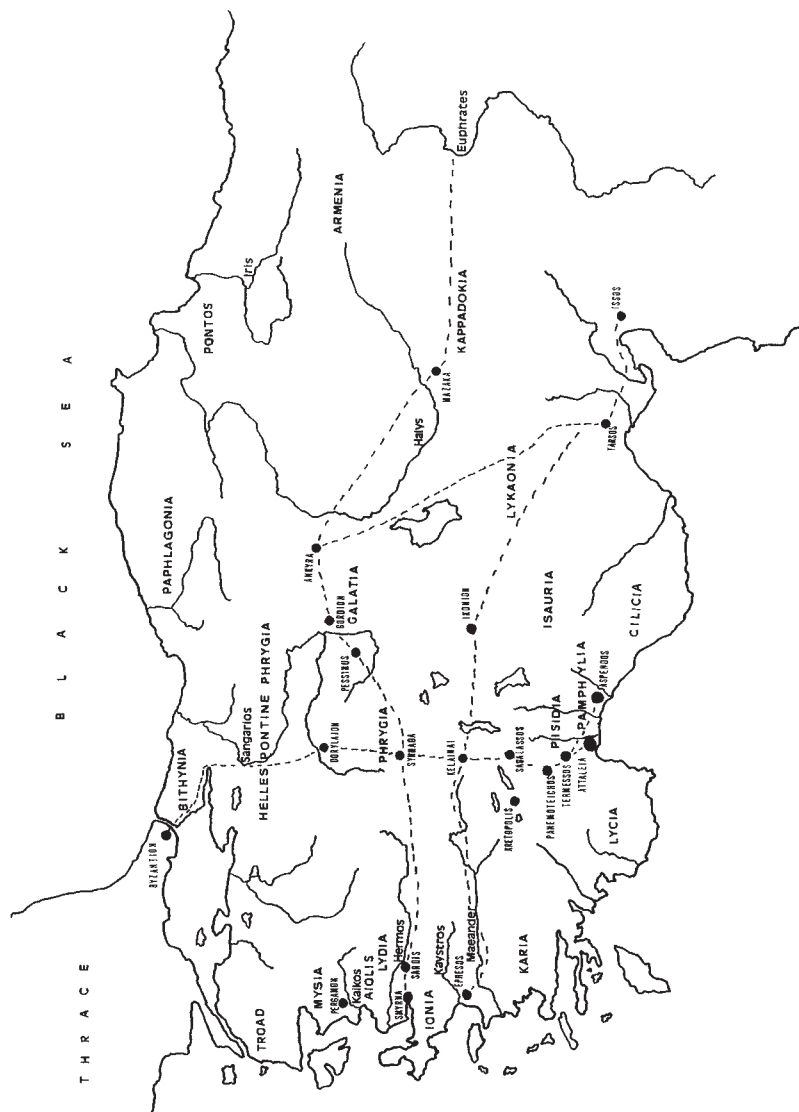
¹⁰⁹ K. VANDORPE, *art. cit.* (n. 60), p. 299-305.

¹¹⁰ G.F. HILL, *BMC. Lykia, Pamphylia, and Pisidia*, London 1897, no. 13; H. VON AULOCK, *Münzen und Städte Pisidiens I*, Tübingen 1979, no. 5108; *Auktionen Basel*, 1989, no. 950; *Sylloge Numorum Graecorum* (n. 108), pl. 96, nos. 1750?, 1755; pl. 97, nos. 1764?, 1779?, 1789?, 1799?, 1801?, 1805?, 1813?, 1815?, 1821?, 1823?, 1841?; E. KOSMETATOU – M. WAELENS, *art. cit.* (n. 60), p. 277-291.

¹¹¹ S. MITCHELL, *Hellenismus in Pisidien* (n. 7), p. 28-30; H. BRACKE, *art. cit.* (n. 7), p. 15-29. Late Hellenistic Bouleuteria have been discovered at Sagalassos, Termessos, Ariassos, and, possibly, Etenna as well. The earliest phase of the theater of Termessos was dated by de Bernardi-Ferrero to the early second century BC. See: D. DE BERNARDI-FERRERO, *Teatri classici in Asia Minor II. Città di Pisidia, Licia e Karia*, Roma 1969, p. 11-34.

revolts, support for the «international» network of piracy, or indifference at best, was all that Alexander's successors could hope to get from the inhabitants of this region. In this respect, the Pisidians always had a clear advantage, as they were formidable warriors who could easily move through their mountainous region, which was also occasionally used as hideaway for royal rebels and usurpers, as well as the battlefield where differences among rulers were solved. For the Hellenistic kings the acquisition of Pisidia meant more than just prestige. The area was important as it was located on the major communication arteries which were vital for the smooth function of trade and the movement of troops. It also became a center for the recruitment of mercenary soldiers who served in the armies of Alexander, Antigonos, Perdikkas, Alketas, the Ptolemies, the Seleucids, and the Attalids.

The alliance between Pisidia and the Seleucids of Syria became a dynamic relationship during the Galatian raids of the third century BC. It collapsed during the last decades of the third century BC, at the time of the revolt of the usurper Achaïos. The Attalids of Pergamon appear to have been the only kings who actively pursued control of the area in the second century BC, because they were interested in retaining a firm grip over the Pamphylian coast and over the vital harbour of their newly-founded colony of Attaleia. They were also the only rulers to have left a lasting impact on the region by boosting the Hellenization process and its cultural development through their patronage and active involvement in the area. The Pisidians belatedly came to appreciate the gift of Hellenization that they received from Alexander's successors, and indeed viewed it as a blessing, in the Late Hellenistic and Roman periods.



CLEOPATRA V TRYPHÆNA AND THE GENEALOGY OF THE LATER PTOLEMIES*

According to a fragment of Porphyry, a daughter of Ptolemy X Alexander I and Berenice III, of unknown name, accompanied her parents at the time of her father's deposition and flight in 88¹. We are told nothing else about her. This paper explores the hypothesis that she was the future Cleopatra V Tryphæna. The discussion touches on several other uncertain points in the female genealogy of the later Ptolemies.

1. THE NATURE OF THE SOURCES

The evidence for the genealogy of the later Ptolemies falls into two classes. The classical authors provide the bulk of our sources. These works give us a complete genealogy of the line of succession down to Ptolemy X. We are also given the paternity of the remaining rulers — Berenice III, Ptolemy XI Alexander II, Ptolemy XII Auletes, Berenice IV, Cleopatra VII and her brothers — but in none of these cases are we told the names of their mothers. Moreover, much of the classical evidence for the later Ptolemies is presented incidentally to the author's main purpose, not all these authors are fully reliable, nor are they all mutually consistent. Two of the principal sources — Pompeius Trogus and Porphyry — survive only in fragmentary and redacted form, in the works of compilers (Justin and Eusebius, respectively) who lived and wrote several centuries later.

The second class of evidence comes from the contemporary inscriptions and papyri discovered in Egypt over the last two centuries. These have provided us with a highly refined chronology of changes in the political regime (at least, as seen locally), and have allowed us to track in fine detail changes in royal titulary and the evolution of the royal

* I am very grateful to Prof. W. Clarysse for the invaluable research suggestions he has given me in the course of this study. The views expressed are my own, as are any errors or omissions.

¹ Porphyry, *FGrH* 260 F2.8. The later Ptolemies and Cleopatras are numbered in several different ways. I follow the widely-used convention of *RE*, and also, where possible, attach a well-known distinguishing epithet on the first introduction of a given ruler.

priesthood. They have also augmented our genealogical knowledge, by providing us the previously-unknown name of Ptolemy XII's queen, Cleopatra V Tryphæna; two heirs to the throne (Ptolemy 'the Son' and Ptolemy Eupator) and possibly a king (Ptolemy VII Neos Philopator)²; and possibly an additional daughter of Ptolemy VIII Physcon, namely Berenice, wife of Psherenptah II, High Priest of Memphis under Ptolemy X³.

Attempts to use the Egyptian data to identify errors in the classical sources have been unsuccessful. In 1984, Cauville and Devauchelle argued that the evolution of epithets in the eponymous priesthood shows that Ptolemy IX Lathyros was in fact the son of Ptolemy VIII by his sister Cleopatra II, rather than by her daughter Cleopatra III, as the classical sources would have us believe⁴. This proposal failed, since it was shown that the pattern of epithets applied to the queens need not be applied consistently, so there is nothing in the Egyptian data which contradicts the classical evidence⁵.

An earlier effort to modify the classical genealogy from contemporary Egyptian data was made by Pestman⁶. In 1967, he proposed that Ptolemy

² Ptolemy 'the Son': W. HUSS, *ZPE* 21 (1998), p. 229ff.; Ptolemy Eupator: W. HUSS, *Proceedings of the 20th International Congress of Papyrologists*, Copenhagen 1994, p. 555ff.; Ptolemy VII: M. CHAUVÉAU, *BIFAO* 90 (1990), p. 135ff.; and the sources therein for each.

³ Stele Vienna 82: E.A.E. REYMOND – J.W.B. BARNES, *Or* 46 (1977), p. 1ff.; E.A.E. REYMOND, *From the Records of a Priestly Family of Memphis*, Wiesbaden 1981, p. 127 no. 9. J. QUAEGBEUR, in *Studies on Ptolemaic Memphis (Studia Hellenistica*, 24), Louvain 1980, p. 69 no. 24, objected that the text in question is illegible in the published photograph of the stele at the point where Reymond argues that the relationship is given. However, he wrote before the publication of Reymond's monograph, and was therefore unaware that she based her reading on a comparison of the surviving traces to the undoubted occurrence of *snt* in another line. D. Devauchelle's review of her final publication (*CE* 58, 1983, p. 139) ignores the point and simply repeats Quaegebeur's objection. The context (E.A.E. REYMOND, *op. cit.*, p. 132) requires either a genealogical relationship or a cultic relationship to Ptolemy X. But no separate cult of Ptolemy X is otherwise known to exist. If the relationship is agreed, by elimination, to be genealogical, then the legibility of the text is irrelevant — the only chronologically acceptable possibility is sisterhood. (Cf. the similar conclusions of W. HUSS, *Aegyptus* 70, 1990, p. 191ff., esp. p. 200.) In my opinion, Reymond's case is strong enough that a reexamination of the stele using modern image-enhancement techniques is called for.

⁴ S. CAUVILLE – D. DEVAUCHELLE, *REgypt* 35 (1984), p. 31ff.

⁵ L. MOOREN, in *Proceedings of the Eighteenth International Congress of Papyrology*, Athens 1988, II, p. 435; J.E.G. WHITEHORNE, *Cleopatras*, London 1994, p. 123-125. Cauville & Devauchelle also argue that Cleopatra II survived till 107. On this proposal see E. VAN'T DACK, *The Judean-Syrian-Egyptian Conflict of 103-101 BC: A Multilingual Dossier Concerning a "War of Sceptres"*, Brussels 1989, p. 19ff.; D.J. THOMPSON, in L. CRISCUOLO – G. GERACI (eds.), *Egitto e storia antica dall'ellenismo all'età araba*, Bologna 1989, p. 693ff.

⁶ P.W. PESTMAN, *Chronologie égyptienne d'après les textes démotiques (332 av. J.-C. – 453 ap. J.-C.)*, Leiden 1967, p. 72(e), 76(b).

XI, whose mother is unnamed in the classical sources, was the son of Berenice III, his father's wife, and briefly his own, even though Porphyry calls him Berenice's stepson⁷. This argument failed because it was shown that the terminology of the sources was consistent with Porphyry's statement, since an exactly similar statement exists that Ptolemy III Euergetes was the son of Arsinoe II, when it is undoubted that his mother was Arsinoe I⁸.

This last observation can be generalised. There are several cases where genealogical statements occur in the Egyptian data which conflict with the classical sources:

- Ptolemy III:
Egyptian: son of Ptolemy II Philadelphos and his sister Arsinoe II;
Classical: son of Ptolemy II and Arsinoe I, daughter of Lysimachus⁹.
- Berenice II:
Egyptian: sister of Ptolemy III;
Classical: daughter of Magas of Cyrene, and so Ptolemy III's cousin¹⁰.
- Cleopatra I:
Egyptian: sister of Ptolemy V Epiphanes;
Classical: daughter of the Seleucid Antiochus III, and so Ptolemy V's third cousin¹¹.
- Cleopatra III:
Egyptian: daughter of Ptolemy VIII
Classical: daughter of Ptolemy VI Philometor, and so Ptolemy VIII's stepdaughter¹².
- Berenice III:
Egyptian: sister of Ptolemy X;
Classical: daughter of Ptolemy IX, and so Ptolemy X's niece¹³.
- Ptolemy XI:
Egyptian: son of Ptolemy X and Berenice III;
Classical: son of Ptolemy X and Berenice III's stepson¹⁴.

⁷ Porphyry, *FGrH* 260 F2.11.

⁸ E. VAN'T DACK, *op. cit.* (n. 5), p. 151-154.

⁹ *OGIS* 54 (Adulis inscription); *OGIS* 56 (Canopus Decree). Cf. Schol. Theocritus 17.128.

¹⁰ *OGIS* 56. Cf. Justin, 26.3.

¹¹ *OGIS* 773, *P. Louvre* 9415. Cf. Appian, *Syr.* 5.

¹² *P. dem. Berl.* 3090, 3091, 3113. Cf. Justin 38.8.

¹³ *P. dem. Ashm.* 10. Cf. Pausanias, I 9.3.

¹⁴ *P. dem. Turin* 6085. Cf. n. 7 *supra*.

There is a clear and consistent pattern to these apparent contradictions. They are readily resolved by interpreting the Egyptian statements within the context of an ideal royal family, consisting of a king, his sister-wife and their children, being succeeded by their son and his sister-wife¹⁵. The model can be extended to include those biologically unrelated members of the priesthood, the administration and the military, who held genealogical titles such as *rh nsw* ('royal relative') and even *sn nsw* ('king's brother')¹⁶. In this light, an unsupported assertion in the Egyptian sources of the Ptolemaic period about the genealogy of a member of the royal family must be regarded as suspect¹⁷.

It is curious therefore that the Egyptian description of Cleopatra V as 'sister' of Ptolemy XII is often uncritically accepted as genealogical fact¹⁸. Those scholars who have recognised the existence of this difficulty have usually accepted the proposal *faute de mieux*¹⁹. I can find only two attempts to proceed further, neither of them recent. Bevan noted the possibility that she could have been a daughter of Ptolemy X, but dismissed it without discussion²⁰. On the other side, Macurdy suggested that sisterhood is implied by the fact that Ptolemy XII and Cleopatra V are called *philadelphoi*²¹. But we can place no greater faith in the genealogical accuracy of such epithets than in Egyptian titles such as *snt nsw*. Berenice III, *philometor* and *philadelphos*, was granddaughter

¹⁵ P.W. PESTMAN, *op. cit.* (n. 6), p. 2 n. 4, goes even further and supposes that the incestuous marriages of the Ptolemaic kings were mere formalities, without a sexual aspect. He believes they were used as a vehicle to legitimise the children born to other women. But, if this were the case, the point of the exercise would be to select the king and queen of the next generation. One would therefore expect each king to have only one surviving 'son' and 'daughter' by his 'sister'. A glance at the dynastic family tree demonstrates only one possible example of such a pattern — Ptolemy X — and even here there is room for doubt (cf. *OGIS* 180).

¹⁶ See the lists by W. CLARYSSE in W. PEREMANS & E. VAN'T DACK (eds.), *Prosopographia Ptolemaica* [hereafter *PPt*] IX (1981) p. xvi, xviii.

¹⁷ It has long been known that the title *s3 nsw* cannot automatically be taken literally in earlier periods; see B. SCHMITZ, *Untersuchungen zum Titel S3-njswt "Königssohn"*, Bonn 1976. Other genealogical titles seem generally reliable in earlier times, though exceptions are known, e.g. A.M. DODSON — J.J. JANSSEN, *JEA* 75 (1989), p. 125, for a false *s3t nsw* in the 18th dynasty, probably a king's granddaughter. On the scope of Egyptian genealogical terms in general see G.M. ROBINS, *CE* 54 (1979), p. 197ff.

¹⁸ E.g. G. HÖBL, *Geschichte des Ptolemäerreiches*, Darmstadt 1994, p. 195.

¹⁹ E.g. A. BOUCHÉ-LECLERCQ, *Histoire des Lagides*, Paris 1904, II p. 85 n. 2; J.E.G. WHITEHORNE, *op. cit.* (n. 5), p. 178.

²⁰ E. BEVAN, *The House of Ptolemy*, London 1927, p. 346 with n. 2.

²¹ G.H. MACURDY, *Hellenistic Queens*, Baltimore 1932, p. 176 with n. 222.

to Cleopatra III and niece to Ptolemy X. Her biological brothers did not attain regal status until after her death.

We are left without any direct evidence on Cleopatra V's parentage. We therefore proceed indirectly, by reviewing the restrictions imposed on the possibilities by the chronologies and careers of the later Ptolemaic rulers.

2. THE MARRIAGE OF PTOLEMY IX TO CLEOPATRA IV

We first consider the marital career of Ptolemy IX. According to Justin, his mother forced him to divorce his much-loved sister Cleopatra IV shortly after his accession in June 116. On her divorce, Cleopatra IV fled to Cyprus, where she raised a fleet, and then sailed to Syria where she married Antiochus IX Cyzenicus. By 114, and probably earlier²², Ptolemy IX was married to another sister, Cleopatra Selene. When he was ousted by his mother and brother in 107, Selene stayed in Alexandria with their two sons²³. In his second reign, Ptolemy IX associated his daughter Berenice III with him as queen, but there is no evidence that he ever married again.

The date of his marriage to Cleopatra IV is unknown. It is not reflected in any contemporary record²⁴. It appears that there was a short interval between the deaths of Ptolemy VIII and Cleopatra II, from late June till perhaps December 116, during which Cleopatra II, Cleopatra III and Ptolemy IX reigned jointly²⁵, so it is conceivable that the marriage

²² Ptolemy IX is shown married to his sister queen Cleopatra in August 115 (A. BERNAND, *De Thèbes à Syène*, Paris 1989, no. 244).

²³ Justin 39.3.

²⁴ She was, however, posthumously incorporated into the canonical dynastic succession, probably by Ptolemy IX in his second reign. See M. CHAUVEAU; in W. CLARYSSE et al. (eds.), *Egyptian Religion: the Last 1000 Years. Studies dedicated to the Memory of J. Quaegebeur* (OLA, 85), Leuven 1998, p. 1263ff..

²⁵ P. Rylands III 20, dated to October 116 (A.E. SAMUEL, *Ptolemaic Chronology*, Munich 1962, p. 148). The validity of the dating formula, naming two queens Cleopatra followed by a king Ptolemy, has been questioned. It is accepted by W. OTTO – H. BENGTON, *Zur Geschichte des Niederganges des Ptolemäerreiches*, Munich 1938, p. 125-126, and defended more recently by E. VAN'T DACK, *op. cit.* (n. 5), p. 19 with n. 14. However, A. BOUCHÉ-LECLERCQ, *op. cit.* (n. 19), II p. 85 n. 2, long ago noted the possibility that the formula may be a scribal error. D. MUSTI, *PP* 15 (1960), p. 432ff., argued further that Cleopatra II did not survive Ptolemy VIII. P. Lond. VII 2191, dated to year 2 of Ptolemy VIII, Cleopatra II and Cleopatra III (27 November 116), is cited by D.J. THOMPSON (*art. cit.* [n. 5], p. 694 n. 2) as another example of scribal confusion at this time. But see now M. CHAUVEAU, *art. cit.* (n. 24), n. 32, for a hieroglyphic inscription giving the triple coregency.

occurred at this time under the patronage of Cleopatra II, but in the face of the opposition of Cleopatra III, who was unable to prevail until after her mother's death. But it seems much more likely that the marriage occurred before Ptolemy IX's accession. From at least 118, and possibly as early as 120, until his accession, Ptolemy IX had resided in Cyprus as *strategos*²⁶. Cleopatra IV's actions immediately following her divorce, and their success, bespeak a familiarity with and an authority in Cyprus which is immediately explicable if she had already spent time there as Ptolemy's wife.

No other king in the history of the dynasty married his sister before his accession to the throne. Indeed, as far as we can tell, later Ptolemaic princes who were not kings did not marry at all. While Ptolemy VIII, when king of Cyrene, had a recognised mistress Eirene, neither he, nor Ptolemy Apion, nor Ptolemy X while king of Cyprus, nor Ptolemy IX himself, during his later exile in Cyprus, nor Ptolemy of Cyprus, the younger brother of Ptolemy XII, are recorded as having wives. The closest I can find to an example of an exception to this policy is Ptolemy VI's proposal to marry his daughter to his brother, the future Ptolemy VIII, as part of the settlement of their civil war²⁷. But the marriage never occurred, and the proposal appears to have been intended to insure against the possibility of Cyrene falling into the hands of the Romans if Ptolemy VIII died childless²⁸.

This unique aspect of the marriage of Ptolemy IX to Cleopatra IV has received very little attention. To the best of my knowledge, the question has not been discussed for nearly a century. Mahaffy noted that the marriage was a «breach of dynastic tradition», and suggested that it was morganatic²⁹. Bouché-Leclercq suggested that Ptolemy VIII had laid a

²⁶ T.B. MITFORD, *JHS* 79 (1959), p. 94ff., who argues (p. 109-115) that Ptolemy IX was initially under the supervision of the *strategos* Helenos, and only later became *strategos* in his own right. After his accession, Ptolemy X took his place in Cyprus as *strategos*. When Ptolemy X assumed royal titles in Cyprus in 114, Helenos again became *strategos* under him. This complex scenario is rightly challenged by A. AVRAAMIDES, *Studies in the History of Hellenistic Cyprus 323-80 BC*, diss. U. Minn. 1971, p. 101-105, who shows that the evidence is consistent with the simpler reconstruction that Ptolemy IX was sent to Cyprus as *strategos* from the beginning, and that Helenos only became *strategos* in 114.

²⁷ Polybius XXXIX 7.

²⁸ P. GREEN, *Alexander to Actium*, Berkeley 1990, p. 443, on the implications of SEG IX 7.

²⁹ J.P. MAHAFFY, *A History of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty*, London 1899, p. 211.

prohibition against such marriages aside for his son³⁰. It is hard to imagine a reason why he should do so, and the evidence is against it. The decision to despatch his children to Cyprus, and the reported terms of his will, which left Cleopatra III the right to choose which of their sons would be his successor³¹, do not demonstrate any support for the behaviour of his eldest son.

While the popular literature shows that ordinary Egyptians saw nothing untoward about brother-sister marriages among junior members of the royal family³², there is no evidence that the Ptolemies themselves took such a sanguine view of the matter. Such marriages were considered incestuous within Greek culture, and critics of the first such marriage, of Ptolemy II to his sister Arsinoe II, could expect execution³³. Ptolemy VIII had had to move very slowly and carefully when he replaced his sister-wife Cleopatra II by his niece Cleopatra III³⁴. Even so, the resultant civil war, when it eventually came, nearly cost him his throne and took years to settle.

The logic of the situation suggests that the dynastic concerns raised by the marriage went much deeper than a mere breach of family tradition. As we have seen, the official genealogical formulae present a schematic royal family where each king and his sister-wife was succeeded by a king and his sister-wife. Further, it is generally considered that the theoretical basis for Ptolemaic dynastic incest lay in the divinity of the king³⁵. If a prince married his sister when not yet on the throne, he was not only staking a claim to that throne, he was also claiming a divinity which was certainly not manifest to the ruling king and queen. In such circumstances, Ptolemy VIII's malevolent will, the Cypriote exile, and the notorious hostility which Cleopatra III showed to her eldest son and to her daughter are easy to understand.

³⁰ A. BOUCHÉ-LECLERCQ, *op. cit.* (n. 19), II p. 85 n. 2.

³¹ Justin 39.3.

³² *P. Cairo* 30646, translated in M. LICHTHEIM, *Ancient Egyptian Literature: A Book of Readings*, Berkeley 1980, III p. 127-137.

³³ E.D. CARNEY, *PP* 42 (1987), p. 420ff. Cf. particularly the fate of the poet Sotades for daring to circulate an obscene epigram critical of the marriage.

³⁴ L. MOOREN, *art. cit.* (n. 5), p. 441-442.

³⁵ Cf. A. BOUCHÉ-LECLERCQ, *op. cit.* (n. 19), III p. 28-29; P. GREEN, *op. cit.* (n. 28), p. 145, 404; E.D. CARNEY, *art. cit.* (n. 33), *passim*, who also discusses the practical value of the policy, and points out that the Ptolemies practiced sibling incest with a regularity rarely seen in earlier times. On the revelation of royal divinity through accession in pharaonic times, see O.D. BERLEV, in D.W. YOUNG (ed.), *Studies presented to H.J. Polotsky*, Beacon Hill 1981, p. 361. The old notion that the pharaonic succession was based on marriage to an 'heiress' is too simplistic; see G.M. ROBINS, *GM* 62 (1983), p. 67ff.

For the purposes of this paper, the important consequence of this observation is that the marriage between Ptolemy IX and Cleopatra IV was almost certainly regarded as invalid by his opponents within the dynasty. Consequently, any children born to them, especially any children born before his accession, were also likely to be considered illegitimate by those opponents.

3. THE CHILDREN OF PTOLEMY IX

3.1. *Ptolemy XII, Ptolemy of Cyprus, and the Sons of Cleopatra Selene*

We now turn to the vexed question of the number and maternity of Ptolemy IX's sons. Justin records that he was forced to leave his two sons by Cleopatra Selene behind him when he fled Alexandria in the coup of 107³⁶. The existence of at least one son in his first reign is confirmed inscriptionally by his letter to the people of Cyrene dated to his 9th year³⁷. A son also acted as eponymous priest in the dynastic cult in the first half of the same year, 109/108³⁸. A second son is not directly attested, but 'children' are mentioned inscriptionally³⁹.

In 103, probably in part as insurance against the possible success of his attempt to regain power at this time, Cleopatra III sent her grandchildren to sanctuary on the island of Cos⁴⁰. Since Berenice III was not among them, it is very likely that only her grandsons were involved. In 88, Mithridates VI raided the island and kidnapped the Ptolemaic princes. These certainly included the future Ptolemy XI, who escaped from Mithridates to Rome in 84, where he won Sulla's support for his bid to the throne in 80. Will has pointed out that the presence of Ptolemy IX's own heirs amongst the hostages is a clear explanation for his neutrality in the Mithridatic wars⁴¹.

Ptolemy XII and his brother Ptolemy of Cyprus make their first certain appearance in 80. However, Appian records that Mithridates had engaged his daughters to the kings of Egypt and Cyprus⁴². Since Ptolemy XII was

³⁶ Justin 39.4.

³⁷ SEG IX 5. On the date see R.S. BAGNALL, *Phoenix* 26 (1972), p. 358ff.

³⁸ P. Brooklyn 37.1796, cf. P.W. PESTMAN *et al.*, *Recueil des textes démotiques et bilingues*, Leiden 1977, II p. 62(c).

³⁹ OGIS 167.

⁴⁰ Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* XIII 13.1; Appian, *Mith.* 23.

⁴¹ É. WILL, *Histoire politique du monde hellénistique* II Nancy 1982², p. 518.

⁴² Appian, *Mith.* 111.

married very shortly after his accession, this is usually and reasonably interpreted as a reference to the future status of the two princes at the time of the engagement, and so as evidence that they were included amongst the hostage princes.

The simplest interpretation of this narrative is that Ptolemy IX had two sons by Selene, who were the future Ptolemy XII and Ptolemy of Cyprus. Three considerations speak against this reconstruction.

- As we have noted above, a son of Ptolemy IX acted as eponymous priest in 109/108. If Cleopatra Selene was his mother, then he was no more than 6 years old at that time. However, Ptolemy IX himself had held the priesthood in 135/134, in which year he turned 8⁴³. It is also very likely that Ptolemy Eupator, heir to Ptolemy VI and eponymous priest in 158/157, turned 8 in October 158⁴⁴. Thus, we have good reason to believe that Ptolemy IX's heir near the end of his first reign was born in the first half of 117/116 — before his father's accession to the throne, and too early to be a son of Cleopatra Selene. Ptolemy IX was again acting as eponymous priest within a month of this attestation for his son, which could indicate the death of this son, but more probably does not, since there are several other examples of two priests per year in this period⁴⁵.
- On the other hand, in a surviving fragment of a speech by Cicero concerning the question of whether Rome should annex Egypt in 65, he is understood to refer to Ptolemy XII as a boy, a *puer*, on his accession, which in normal usage would make him less than 18⁴⁶. If he was born before his father's exile in 107, he would have been at least in his late 20s at that time; if he was the heir born in 117/116 he would have been 36.
- There is no doubt that Ptolemy XII was widely considered illegitimate, a *nothos*, a bastard⁴⁷. Most significantly, Selene herself denied the legitimacy of the two brothers in 75, in an effort to gain recognition from the Roman senate for the claims of her two sons by Antiochus X Eusebes⁴⁸.

⁴³ *PPt* III 5249; L. MOOREN, *art. cit.* (n. 5), p. 438.

⁴⁴ J.D. RAY, *JEA* 64 (1978), p. 113ff.

⁴⁵ W. CLARYSSE – G. VAN DER VEKEN, *The Eponymous Priests of Ptolemaic Egypt*, Leiden 1983, p. 36, 38.

⁴⁶ Cicero, *De reg. Alex.* F9. See E. BLOEDOW, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Ptolemaios XII*, Würzburg 1963, p. 6-9, on Cicero's use of the term.

⁴⁷ Justin, *prol.* 39; Pausanias, *loc. cit.* Cicero is vague on the point, slanting his position according to his immediate rhetorical needs; compare *Leg. Agr.* II 16.42 with *Pro Sestio* 57.

⁴⁸ Cicero, *Verr.* II 4.27.60.

To the best of my knowledge, the first of these issues is raised here for the first time. There are three theories to account for the other two considerations in the literature, none of them satisfactory, and none of them taking account of the evidence of the priesthood.

1. Ptolemy XII, and Ptolemy of Cyprus, were indeed the sons of Ptolemy IX and Selene, and the points above are simply to be discounted as errors or as partisan propaganda⁴⁹. However, whatever one may feel about the age of Ptolemy XII, it is difficult to dismiss the accusation of bastardy when it is directly supported by the actions of his putative mother.
2. Ptolemy XII and Ptolemy of Cyprus were a second set of sons, born during Ptolemy IX's exile on Cyprus⁵⁰. This accepts the validity of both items of evidence. But in this case it is hard to explain their presence at Mithridates' court, since there was no incentive for Ptolemy IX, in exile in Cyprus, to send his sons off the island, let alone to Cos to join their brothers and cousin, where they might easily be reached by his opponents in Alexandria.
3. Ptolemy XII and Ptolemy of Cyprus were a second set of sons, born to a concubine during the first reign of Ptolemy IX⁵¹. This discounts the significance of the Ciceronian reference, but accepts that of Selene's actions. Consequently, we have a pair of illegitimate sons who were approximately the same age as their legitimate brothers and were sent to Cos with them. However, it is difficult on this scenario to account for the subsequent disappearance of the legitimate sons. If we accept Will's observation, then Ptolemy IX must have believed that his heirs were living when they were kidnapped in 88, and Mithridates had every interest in keeping them alive. The recognition he accorded to the illegitimate sons, betrothing them to his own daughters, is very much in line with the way one would expect him to behave towards the hostage heirs to a king of Egypt.

Only a few scattered lines of Cicero's speech survive, virtually all in the Bobbio Scholiast⁵². The *puer* reference occurs in a single line whose

⁴⁹ H. VOLKMANN, in *RE* XXIII (1959), col. 1748; W. OTTO – H. BENGTSON, *op. cit.* (n. 25), p. 177 n. 1.

⁵⁰ E. BLOEDOW, *op. cit.* (n. 46), p. 8-10. He also argues that if Ptolemy XII had been older than Ptolemy XI he would have been recalled by the Alexandrians in 80. This is hardly likely: Ptolemy XI had Sulla's ear while Ptolemy XII did not.

⁵¹ P. GREEN, *op. cit.* (n. 28), p. 554.

⁵² J.W. CRAWFORD, *M. Tullius Cicero: The Fragmentary Speeches*, Atlanta 1994, p. 43-56.

immediate context is unknown. It is believed that it comes from a portion of the speech in which Cicero laid out the historical background to the situation facing the senate, and was defending Ptolemy XII against charges of complicity in the murder of his predecessor. The fragment states that the killing of an unnamed king occurred when 'the boy' was in Syria. This is interpreted as referring to the death of Ptolemy XI at the hands of the Alexandrian mob, which is described in detail in the next surviving fragment, an interpretation which makes Ptolemy XII the object of the reference by default. The Scholiast explains that Cicero was showing that 'the boy' had neither the will, because of his youth, nor the opportunity, because of his presence in Syria, to have been involved in the king's death, while in the following fragment Cicero was absolving king Ptolemy from the death of his predecessor because he had in fact been murdered by a popular uprising. Since the Scholiast states that the age of the boy was a factor in his defence, it is unlikely that the reference is ironic or sarcastic⁵³.

If the two fragments are joined, the combination is syntactically correct and makes coherent sense. It is therefore very reasonable to infer that there is really one fragment describing the death of Ptolemy XI⁵⁴. Nevertheless, there is nothing in the words of either Cicero or the Scholiast which forces us to this interpretation. Let us suppose instead that the two fragments were not originally joined, and that the king who died in the first fragment was Ptolemy X, who was killed in battle⁵⁵. In this case Cicero is referring to events of 88/87. At that time any sons of Selene were over 20, hence already adult, but Ptolemy XI, assuming him to have been born only a year or two before he was sent to Cos, was about 16 or 17 years old. It would be completely appropriate to describe him as a *puer*. On this theory, therefore, 'the boy' is not Ptolemy XII but Ptolemy XI.

A second difficulty with the usual interpretation of Cicero's statement is to explain why Ptolemy XII was living in Syria at the time of his predecessor's death. Bevan, having sought unsuccessfully to find an MS authority for 'Cyprus', ends up supposing that Syria was named because

⁵³ Pace R.D. SULLIVAN, *Near Eastern Royalty and Rome 100-30 BC*, Toronto 1990, p. 92.

⁵⁴ E.g. H. MAEHLER, *BICS* 30 (1983), p. 1ff., esp. p. 12 n. 20.

⁵⁵ I owe this suggestion to a serendipitous error by J.W. CRAWFORD, *op. cit.* (n. 52), p. 55, who names the dead king as «Ptolemy Alexander I», although she clearly intends «Ptolemy Alexander II».

it was the last port of call for the brothers *en route* from Pontus before they reached Egypt⁵⁶. This explanation is clearly unsatisfactory, since Cicero was stating where 'the boy' lived at the moment of the king's death, and the last residence of Ptolemy XII before his accession must, at least after the fact, have been quite well known. Will points out that in 80 Syria was split between Mithridates' ally Tigranes of Armenia and the last Seleucids centred on Cleopatra Selene, and we are not told which part of Syria is meant⁵⁷. Indeed, Strabo's definition of Syria covers a huge area which allows us to bring even Commagene and Judea into consideration⁵⁸, although it would be difficult to explain how Ptolemy XII came to reside in such regions. Of the two possibilities suggested by Will, the territory controlled by Selene can be dismissed: it is hardly likely that she would have allowed Ptolemy XII to go to Egypt to claim a throne she believed was rightfully hers. Following Will's lead, Sullivan suggests that Ptolemy XII and his brother were transferred at some point from Mithridates to Tigranes, but proposes no reason why Mithridates should do this⁵⁹. It is hard to believe that Mithridates would have voluntarily given up control of his hostages unless he thought that he could control the Egyptian throne thereby, even if the attempt failed in the execution.

A date of 88/87, shortly after the raid on Cos, simplifies the problem, because it removes the need for exactitude. At that time, Mithridates was fully engaged in warfare in both Asia Minor and Greece. It is very likely that he sent his newly acquired hostages as far away as he could from the front line and potential recapture, and also likely that their location was a state secret, to be concealed from the hostages themselves. On this hypothesis, the ultimate source of Cicero's information can only have been Ptolemy XI himself, who may well have had no clear idea of where he actually was. A vague and distant term such as 'Syria' serves effectively to define his captivity in some Pontic Siberia.

On the interpretation proposed here, Cicero is primarily reviewing the history of Roman dealings with the Egyptian kings, rather than defending the dubious moral character of Ptolemy XII. At the end of his life, Ptolemy X had become a Roman client, and had followed his father's

⁵⁶ E. BEVAN, *op. cit.* (n. 20), p. 344 n. 3, 345.

⁵⁷ É. WILL, *op. cit.* (n. 41), p. 519.

⁵⁸ Strabo XVI 2.1.

⁵⁹ R.D. SULLIVAN, *op. cit.* (n. 53), p. 92, followed by J.E.G. WHITEHORNE, *op. cit.* (n. 5), p. 178.

example by willing Egypt to Rome⁶⁰. Sulla had instead supported the installation of Ptolemy XI on the Egyptian throne, a policy which had failed almost immediately. Rome had then acquiesced in the accession of Ptolemy XII, while withholding full recognition. It would seem that Cicero defended the character of the king(s) in order to show that there was no reason to doubt that each one was of good character at the moment he acceded, *i.e.* that the senate had always acted on the best information available to it at the time.

The *puer* reference, then, does not bear the weight which has been put upon it, since it may well not refer to Ptolemy XII at all. If a reconstruction of the genealogy can be found which is otherwise satisfactory then it is not unreasonable to discount it, unless and until, by some miracle, a much larger portion of the speech should be recovered.

Selene's actions in 75 are much more difficult to discount. But if instead we accept them at face value, and we also accept that the princes left behind in Alexandria in 107 were her sons, then Ptolemy IX has two pairs of sons with apparently identical lives, one pair of which unaccountably disappeared. Further, we must do so knowing that the eponymous priest of 109/108 was also not a son of Selene.

The ideal solution would eliminate the doppelgänger by allowing the legitimacy of the two sons of Ptolemy IX who he left in Alexandria to be questionable, not undoubted. In support of this, we may note that Ptolemy XII himself found it necessary to stress that he was the heir to Ptolemy IX⁶¹. Further, whatever the nature of the bar sinister, it did not prevent him from easily gaining his throne, nor from winning support from the native Egyptian hierarchy, cemented by a coronation in Memphis in 76⁶². Indeed, Sullivan has even speculated that he was the son of an Egyptian woman of aristocratic birth, possibly related to the High Priests of Memphis⁶³ — but this exotic proposal still leaves us with two pairs of sons. Nor was his illegitimacy a factor in his

⁶⁰ E. BADIAN, *RhM* 110 (1967), p. 178ff.; E. VAN'T DACK, *op. cit.* (n. 5), p. 150-161.

⁶¹ M. CHAUVEAU, *art. cit.* (n. 24), n. 11.

⁶² Stele BM 886.

⁶³ R.D. SULLIVAN, *op. cit.* (n. 53), p. 93-94; this is based on Reymond's proposal of a link between the royal family and the Memphite high priests (*vide* n. 3 *supra*). On the doubtful utility of this suggestion for explaining the delay in his coronation till 76, see the remarks of J.E.G. WHITEHORNE, *op. cit.* (n. 5), p. 224 n. 13, who however misconstrues Reymond's argument.

theoretical exclusion from the throne by the terms of his uncle's will bequeathing Egypt to Rome.

In my view, the key to this ideal solution was recognised by Mahaffy, who tentatively suggested that Ptolemy XII and his brother were sons of Cleopatra IV⁶⁴. The fact that Ptolemy IX's son and heir held the eponymous priesthood in 109/108, very probably at the age of 8, strongly supports this theory. As we have seen, such sons may have been legitimate heirs in the eyes of Ptolemy IX and his partisans, but would almost certainly have been illegitimate to his opponents. During his first reign, these sons would naturally be regarded as the official 'sons' of the reigning queen, Cleopatra Selene, just as Ptolemy III had been the 'son' of Arsinoe II, and Ptolemy XI would become the 'son' of Berenice III, and the eldest could reasonably expect to be assigned roles appropriate to an heir. Since they were not her biological sons, Selene would be free to repudiate their legitimacy if political circumstances required it, which is exactly what she did.

If Ptolemy XII was born to Cleopatra IV no earlier than late 117, then Ptolemy of Cyprus cannot have been born any earlier than the second half of 116, unless he was a twin, for which there is no evidence. This is the period of the joint rule of Ptolemy IX, Cleopatra II and Cleopatra III, during which Cleopatra IV could have enjoyed the protection of her grandmother against her mother. Accordingly, we may propose as a working hypothesis that Ptolemy of Cyprus was born at about the time Cleopatra II died, or shortly before, and that Cleopatra III forced his parents to divorce shortly after his birth. This hypothesis is consistent with the sequence of events outlined by Justin, and explains both how Cleopatra IV could have become queen in the face of her mother's opposition, and how she could have lost that position. Finally, the birth of two sons in such quick succession would also provide a publicly visible explanation of Justin's characterisation of Cleopatra IV as 'much loved' by her brother.

This scenario meets the contemporary evidence perfectly, once we have found an alternate explanation of Cicero's *puer*. To close the case, we may suppose that Justin, or Trogus, was not paying sufficiently close attention to his sources when he described Ptolemy IX's sons as the sons of Selene; a venial sin compared to his other errors⁶⁵.

⁶⁴ J.P. MAHAFFY, *op. cit.* (n. 29), p. 225 n. 1.

⁶⁵ D.J. THOMPSON, *art. cit.* (n. 5), p. 697, cites errors such as confusing Hannibal with Hamilcar.

3.2. *Berenice III*

Pausanias tells us that Ptolemy IX's daughter, Berenice III, was his only legitimate child⁶⁶. Her mother must therefore be either Cleopatra IV or Cleopatra Selene. Although it has been supposed that she was born to Cleopatra IV as early as 120⁶⁷, the only evidence I can find to support this position is a Cypriote inscription naming a queen Berenice, daughter of king Ptolemy and queen Cleopatra, *theoi philometores*⁶⁸. This is evidently a reference to Ptolemy IX. Since he did not call himself *philometor* after the death of his mother, Chauveau has inferred that the inscription dates from his first reign. Given the origin of the inscription, he has further inferred that it reflects a marriage of Berenice III to Ptolemy X while he was king in Cyprus⁶⁹.

There are, however, some objections to this interpretation. There is no doubt that Berenice III was a young girl when Ptolemy IX succeeded to throne, if she was alive at all. So we must explain why she was left in Cyprus in the care of her uncle, rather than taken to Alexandria with her father. Further, since she is described as queen, the inscription must date to the period after Ptolemy X assumed the kingship in 114, but we must then explain why he permitted her parents, his opponents, to be mentioned at all.

We therefore seek an alternative date for the inscription. The period of Ptolemy IX's exile in Cyprus, between 105 and 88, can be ruled out, since he is unlikely to have accepted her status as queen to his rival brother. His own second reign can be ruled out, since, as Chauveau noted, he did not refer to himself as *philometor* in the period. We are left, by exhaustion, with the sole reign of Berenice III, in 80, which is also the only period when she was an independent political actor, and so likely to be the sole object of such a dedication. The inscription becomes evidence that she chose to refer to her parents by the titles they bore at the time of her birth⁷⁰. With this date, it ceases to have any bearing on her age.

⁶⁶ *Vide* n. 13 *supra*.

⁶⁷ First suggested as a possibility by A. BOUCHÉ-LECLERCQ, *op. cit.* (n. 19), II p. 116 n. 1. Cf. E. BEVAN, *op. cit.* (n. 20), p. 331. For recent authors, e.g. G. HÖBL (op. cit. [n. 18], p. 189), R.D. SULLIVAN (op. cit. [n. 53], p. 88), and J.E.G. WHITEHORNE (op. cit. [n. 5], p. 224 n. 8), this has become a certainty. I am unable to find evidence or argument supporting this transformation.

⁶⁸ *OGIS* 174.

⁶⁹ M. CHAUCHEAU, *art. cit.* (n. 24), n. 10.

⁷⁰ Cf. her own title in this period, *thea philopator*: W. MÜLLER, *ZÄS* 93 (1966), p. 93ff.

It is practically certain, from her unquestioned legitimacy, and from the analysis of the status of the marriage of Cleopatra IV given above, that Berenice III was in fact born after Ptolemy IX's accession in 116. It is remotely possible that she was a daughter of Cleopatra IV born after that marriage was briefly legitimised by Cleopatra II. However, it appears that Ptolemy of Cyprus was born in late 116, and the change in political circumstances which took place at about that time forced Cleopatra IV into exile soon thereafter. Accordingly, unless her brothers were twins, there is no time available for another child to be born to Cleopatra IV.

Since her legitimacy was unquestioned, it is far more likely in any case that Berenice III was a child of Cleopatra Selene. The only objection to this theory is that she first appears in the public record in 101, as queen of Ptolemy X, within a few days of the last appearance of Cleopatra III⁷¹. It seems likely, therefore, that she was already married to Ptolemy X during his mother's lifetime, but she would have been very young at this time. Nevertheless, while the chronology is tight, it is perfectly workable. If we suppose that Ptolemy IX married Cleopatra Selene almost immediately after his divorce from Cleopatra IV at the end of 116, and that Berenice III was conceived soon thereafter, she would have been born in late 115, at a time we know that Ptolemy IX was married⁷². She could then have been as old as 14 in late 101. Yet, given her age, it is unlikely that she had been married to her uncle for more than a year, nor would she have been capable of bearing children till about the same time.

4. THE CHILDREN OF PTOLEMY X

Ptolemy X had two known children, both of unquestioned legitimacy⁷³.

4.1. *The daughter of Berenice III*

His anonymous⁷⁴ daughter by Berenice III was alive in 88. From the circumstance of her own legitimacy, we have seen that it is unlikely

⁷¹ Last reference to Cleopatra III: *P. Adler* 11 (14 October 101). First reference to Berenice III: *P. Adler* 12 (26 October 101).

⁷² *Vide* n. 22 *supra*.

⁷³ Additional daughters for Ptolemy X may be implied by the reference to his 'children' in *OGIS* 180, since it is agreed that he had only one son, who was not in Egypt.

⁷⁴ M.L. STRACK, *Die Dynastie der Ptolemäer*, Leipzig 1897, p. 54 n. 4, in discussing the identities of personages named in *OGIS* 174, lists as a remote possibility that the

Berenice III was born before 115. It is therefore equally unlikely that she was capable of bearing children till about the time of her first appearance in the public record, in 101, or slightly later. We may estimate, then, that her daughter was most likely born in the early 90's and was about 10 years old at the time of the coup of 88. Being still a child, and assuming that she did not die in the meantime, she almost certainly accompanied her mother on her return to Alexandria to become Ptolemy IX's final queen⁷⁵, and at the time of her grandfather's death was a young woman in her teenage years living in the royal palace.

4.2. *Ptolemy XI*

Ptolemy X's son, Ptolemy XI, was, as we have seen, amongst the princes sent to Cos in 103, and he is referred to in the Egyptian record in 101⁷⁶. Accordingly, Berenice III cannot have been his mother; indeed Cicero describes her as his sister⁷⁷. The other candidate who has been proposed is Cleopatra IV⁷⁸. Bouché-Leclercq suggested that she conceived Ptolemy XI by Ptolemy X during her brief stay in Cyprus in 115. Although Otto and Bengtson disputed his presence on the island before 114, Mitford has argued plausibly that he was appointed *strategos* immediately after his brother's accession⁷⁹. However, Bouché-Leclercq himself noted the difficulty of explaining Cleopatra IV's rapid departure for Syria on this scenario, and it is highly doubtful that such a child would have been considered legitimate. Moreover, Ptolemy X was and remained the protégé of a woman who had just deprived Cleopatra IV of her husband, her throne and, I have argued above, her sons. It is hardly credible that she would consider such a liaison.

Nevertheless, Bouché-Leclercq's basic instinct is sound: once we rule out Berenice III, precedent suggests that, whoever the mother of Ptolemy XI was, she was probably a senior princess of the previous generation. She was still in her childbearing years between 107 and 103, and

basilissa Berenice named therein may be the daughter in question, interpreting *basilissa* as 'princess' rather than 'queen'; but the inscription is more reasonably understood as referring to her mother Berenice III, as Strack himself recognised.

⁷⁵ Cf. E. BEVAN, *op. cit.* (n. 20), p. 334.

⁷⁶ *Vide* n. 14 *supra*.

⁷⁷ Cicero, *De reg. Alex.* F10. This is usually explained as a reference to her Egyptian title of 'sister'.

⁷⁸ A. BOUCHÉ-LECLERCQ, *op. cit.* (n. 19), II p. 93 n. 1 & 117 n. 2.

⁷⁹ W. OTTO – H. BENGTSON, *op. cit.* (n. 25), p. 148 n. 2. Cf. T.B. MITFORD, *art. cit.* (n. 26), p. 115-116.

she was available for marriage to Ptolemy X at that time. Since Ptolemy X married Berenice III by 101, Ptolemy XI's mother must have been removed from the scene by death or other means no later than 101.

According to Appian, the accession of Ptolemy XI in 80 was supported by 'the women' of the royal household⁸⁰. If this statement can be trusted then there were certainly Ptolemaic princesses not known to us. However, there is one candidate in plain view who not only meets the requirements exactly, but who also confers the status of literal truth upon Cicero's statement that Berenice III was Ptolemy XI's sister: Cleopatra Selene. With Ptolemy IX in exile, she was certainly available; she was already broken in to the role of playing the king's wife under the direction of her formidable mother; and there is no doubt she was capable of bearing children, since she was still to bear two sons to Antiochus X. Further, in 103 Cleopatra III removed her from Alexandria by forcing her departure to Syria, where she married Antiochus VIII Grypos. By 101, Ptolemy X had disposed of his mother, but Selene was no longer available to act as his queen.

Finally, Ptolemy XI's sole act in his 19-day reign was to murder Berenice III. However inept he proved to be, it was surely part of his calculus that he was readily able to replace her. A legitimate, available and inexperienced younger sister of marriageable age, if she existed, must have seemed to him preferable to an older sister and step-mother who already had 20 years of experience in surviving the family struggle for power.

5. THE CHRONOLOGY OF CLEOPATRA V

Having reviewed the genealogical context, we now turn to the direct evidence for Cleopatra V. We begin by reviewing the evidence from Egypt⁸¹.

⁸⁰ Appian, *B. Civ.* I 102.

⁸¹ Most recently collected in E. BLOEDOW, *op. cit.* (n. 46), p. 113-114; P.W. PESTMAN, *op. cit.* (n. 6), p. 77-81. The following additional contemporary dated references have been encountered in the course of this research: references to both Ptolemy XII and Cleopatra V: *Med. Habu Graf.* 44 (24 September 77?), stele Vienna 82 (30 April 76), *SB VI* 9405 = *P. Jouguet* (18 December 75), *P. dem. Loeb* 87+63 (19 November 74), *SB VI* 9092 (October/November 73), *P. dem. Ashm.* 14/15 (3 September 71); references to Ptolemy XII without Cleopatra V: *P. Lugd. Bat.* XXV 21 (8 July 78), *P. dem. Ashm.* 16/17 (1 November 69), *P. dem. Moscow* 123 (19 April 68), *Med. Habu Graf.*

Cleopatra V first appears on 17 January 79⁸², shortly after the accession of Ptolemy XII in late 81/80. They appear jointly in the record without interruption⁸³ until 7 August 69⁸⁴. From 1 November 69 onward, he appears alone⁸⁵. However, it has long been held that Ptolemy XII and Cleopatra V appear in reliefs on the Temple of Edfu which are dated by an accompanying inscription on the lintel of the doorway to 1 Choiak of year 25, *i.e.* 5 December 57⁸⁶. At this time, Ptolemy XII had been expelled from Egypt for a year, and Alexandria was in fact ruled by his daughter Berenice IV⁸⁷.

The interpretation of these facts has been controversial since they first became clear. The natural explanation for Cleopatra V's disappearance from the record, unaccompanied by any signs of civil strife, is that she died in late 69⁸⁸. However, the example of Berenice III, who disappears from the record in the mid 90's and then reappears, shows that such disappearances need not be equated to death⁸⁹. Bouché-Leclercq, followed by many other scholars, argued that the apparent reappearance of Cleopatra V at Edfu, 12 years after her disappearance from the record, is incomprehensible if she had died in 69. In this view, the Edfu evidence proves that she was alive in the interim, but was removed from public life for reasons which have been lost to our sight⁹⁰.

Two arguments have been presented to oppose this interpretation:

43 (4 January 55). Further possible references, currently unpublished: *P. dem. Ham.* 9 (79), *P. dem. Ham.* 3 (67), *P. dem. Lond.* 10604 (67).

⁸² *O. Pr. Joachim* 1.

⁸³ The apparent exceptions I have found are all explicable. *P. Lugd. Bat.* XXV 21 (dated 78) names king Ptolemy in an official stamp, not in the body of the text. E. BLOEDOW, *op. cit.* (n. 46), p. 114, lists *OGIS* 184 (dated 74) as an instance of Ptolemy XII without Cleopatra V, in error since the inscription names neither ruler, but is attributed to Ptolemy son of Dionysios, *strategos* of Diospolis Parva; also it may be dated to 44; see E. BERNAND, *Les inscriptions grecques de Philae* I, Paris 1969, p. 328. *P. dem. Moscow* 123, naming only Ptolemy XII, is incorrectly dated to 70 by M. MALININE, *REgypt* 19 (1967), p. 67ff.

⁸⁴ *OGIS* 185.

⁸⁵ *P. dem. Ashm.* 16/17.

⁸⁶ J. DÜMICHEN, *ZÄS* 8 (1870), p. 1ff.

⁸⁷ Porphyry, *FGrH* 260, F2.14. On the dated Egyptian sources for Berenice IV, see most recently J.R. REA, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* LV, London 1988, p. 3-5; L.M. RICKETTS, *BASP* 27 (1990), p. 49ff.; and M. CHAUVEAU, in *Akten des 21. Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses, Berlin 1995*, Stuttgart 1997, I, p. 163ff.

⁸⁸ *E.g.* M.L. STRACK, *op. cit.* (n. 74), p. 65, 210 n. 43.

⁸⁹ P.W. PESTMAN, *op. cit.* (n. 6), p. 72(c).

⁹⁰ A. BOUCHÉ-LECLERCQ, *op. cit.* (n. 19), II p. 145 n. 1. Cf. E. BLOEDOW, *op. cit.* (n. 46), p. 95-101.

- Ptolemy XII continues to use the title *philadelphos* after her disappearance. Pestman argues that this shows that she could not have fallen in disgrace⁹¹.
- The Edfu inscription cannot be accepted as accurate historical evidence since we know that Ptolemy XII was not present in the country at the time of its erection. No proponent of this view has offered any other explanation for its existence⁹².

Pestman's argument strains the evidence. It might be thought, for instance, that Ptolemy XII's brother the king of Cyprus, who lived and ruled until 58, was equally deserving of his affection. Be that as it may, it is certainly true that there is no clear trace in the record of any possible feud between Ptolemy XII and his wife. This does not mean that none can have occurred. For example, the *putsch* launched against Cleopatra VII by Arsinoe IV is not visible in the Egyptian record. Yet, even if Cleopatra V was not disgraced, this hardly implies, as Pestman supposes, that the only alternative explanation for her disappearance is her death. For example, she may have been discreetly removed from a public role for incapacity, or precisely in order to avoid a public feud⁹³.

At first sight the view that the inscription is ahistorical is without merit. One can only agree with Bevan's comment that «Stähelin.... says magisterially that Bouché-Leclercq is wrong, without attempting to meet his arguments»⁹⁴. Nevertheless, the instinct that there is something wrong with an inscription dated to year 25 of Ptolemy XII alone has been borne out by subsequent scholarship. While there is other evidence which appears to support Bouché-Leclercq's premise that Ptolemy XII was recognised in the Thebaid during Berenice IV's reign, despite his absence from the country, it consists of double-dated formulae⁹⁵. All

⁹¹ P.W. PESTMAN, *op. cit.* (n. 6), p. 76, 80(a).

⁹² E.g. M.L. STRACK, *loc. cit.*; F. STÄHELIN, in *RE* XI (1921), col. 748.

⁹³ It is curious that Cleopatra Selene died in the same year, although there is no obvious connection.

⁹⁴ E. BEVAN, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 354 n. 2.

⁹⁵ *P. dem. Louvre* 3452 (year 2? and year 25); *Med. Habu Graf.* 43 (year [2]6 and year [3?]); H.J. THISEN, *ZPE* 27, 1977, p. 181ff.). M. SMITH, *The Demotic Mortuary Papyrus Louvre E. 3452*, diss. Chicago 1979, p. 177, suggests that *P. Louvre* 3452 was written early in 57/56, when the situation in Alexandria was still unclear in Thebes; but see now M. CHAUVEAU, *art. cit.* (n. 87), p. 167. The reconstruction of the date of *Med. Habu Graf.* 43 is not without difficulty: king Ptolemy is named first, and neither Berenice IV nor her husband Archelaus are apparently named, but instead a queen Cleopatra. Thissen identifies this queen as Cleopatra 'VI' Tryphæna, but Porphyry says that she died in the first year, and the papyri apparently support him (*vide* n. 112 *infra*).

other material once assigned to Ptolemy XII alone during the period of his exile has been subsequently redated⁹⁶. Accepting this conclusion, Rea was driven to suppose that the Edfu inscriptions could only be regarded as «eccentric»⁹⁷. In support of this he cited an inscription on the east pylon apparently dated to a 'year 53' of Ptolemy XII, *i.e.* 28⁹⁸. However, all such exigencies are no longer required, since Quaegebeur's recent reexamination of the Edfu inscriptions showed that the inscription on the temple lintel should also be redated, to year 25 of Ptolemy X, *i.e.* to 90/89⁹⁹.

Quaegebeur's analysis has significant consequences for our understanding of the career of Cleopatra V. He points out the attribution of the reliefs on the north and south pylons to Ptolemy XII and Cleopatra V is based on an undated inscription running in a bandeau across the base of both pylons. While the king is separately named in both reliefs, the relief of the queen on the north pylon is accompanied by empty cartouches. The relief on the south pylon shows her without royal attributes, and is intact, unlike any other figure in the reliefs, indicating that it was spared from Christian vandalism because it was plastered over in antiquity. Quaegebeur therefore proposes that the two reliefs were still being completed shortly after the inauguration of the temple in 70, and this process coincided with the removal of Cleopatra V from a public role in late 69.

I see two possible explanations. Firstly, the formulae used for Berenice III show that the name 'Cleopatra' was often preferred for a ruling queen, so the 'Cleopatra' of this graffito could well, in fact, be Berenice IV (cf. W. HUSS, *art. cit.* [n. 3], p. 194 n. 12). Alternatively, Ricketts (*art. cit.* [n. 87], p. 58-59) proposes that *Med. Habu Graf.* 43 marks the restoration of Ptolemy XII. This attractive suggestion naturally accounts for both the order of the rulers and the absence of Archelaus, without necessarily requiring us to accept her more controversial proposal, that he was omitted from other dating formulae. In such circumstances, the fallen regime might well be referred to by its least objectionable member. Neither explanation requires us to accept Ricketts' thesis (p. 59) that Cleopatra Tryphaena was alive in 55. Two new double-dated ostraca are discussed in M. CHAUVEAU, *loc. cit.*

⁹⁶ OGIS 188, 189, originally dated to year 25 of Ptolemy XII, reassigned to year 25 of Ptolemy X (P.R. SWARNEY, *The Ptolemaic and Roman Idios Logos*, Toronto 1970, p. 22-23); BGU VIII 1772, 1871, both originally dated to year 25 of Ptolemy XII, reassigned to year 21 (T.C. SKEAT, *The Reigns of the Ptolemies*, Munich 1969, p. 38); *P. Berol.* 13657, originally dated to year 25, reassigned to year 29 (*ibid.*).

⁹⁷ J.R. REA, *op. cit.* (n. 87), p. 5.

⁹⁸ S. CAUVILLE – D. DEVAUCHELLE, *art. cit.* (n. 4), p. 54-55. However, since it is clear (p. 40-41) that foundation work was undertaken throughout the temple in the last years of Ptolemy VIII, including the pylons, it is likely that the inscription in question originally belonged to that king, dating it to 117 instead of 28.

⁹⁹ J. QUAEGBEUR, in L. CRISCUOLO – G. GERACI, *op. cit.* (n. 5), p. 595ff.

The failure to complete her cartouches, followed by the failure to portray her as queen and then the decision to plaster over her image, constitutes evidence of the process of her removal, and the initially uncertain response of the Edfu authorities.

Thus, while Quaegebeur's analysis supports the thesis that Edfu does not prove that Cleopatra V was alive in 57, we have instead very direct evidence that she did not die in 69, but was removed from the political scene for reasons as yet unknown to us.

The date of her death must therefore be deduced from other evidence.

Although the classical authors give no direct information on Cleopatra V, they do give considerable information on the children of Ptolemy XII. It is universally agreed that he had at least three daughters and two sons¹⁰⁰: Berenice IV, queen between 58 and 55¹⁰¹; Cleopatra VII, who died aged 39 in 30¹⁰²; Arsinoe IV, younger than Cleopatra VII but older than her brothers; Ptolemy XIII, aged 13 when Pompey was murdered in 48¹⁰³; and Ptolemy XIV, who died aged 15 in 44¹⁰⁴. Since Berenice IV was old enough to act as regent or coregent in 58, we may place her birth between about 79 and 74. The birth-dates of the other children may be estimated as follows: Cleopatra VII – 69; Arsinoe IV – c. 67; Ptolemy XIII – 61; and Ptolemy XIV – 59.

According to Strabo, Berenice IV was his only legitimate daughter. This statement causes difficulties.

Firstly, if it is correct, then his other daughters, including Cleopatra VII, were not legitimate, yet we find no other trace of such a suggestion in the classical record, even though the illegitimacy of Ptolemy XII himself is widely admitted. But with a birth-date of 69 Cleopatra VII was certainly conceived before Cleopatra V disappears from the record. It follows that only Cleopatra V can have been her mother¹⁰⁵.

¹⁰⁰ Strabo XVII 1.11.

¹⁰¹ Dio Cassius XXXIX 13.

¹⁰² Plutarch, *Ant.* 86.

¹⁰³ Appian, *B. Civ.* II 84.

¹⁰⁴ Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* XV 4.1.

¹⁰⁵ H. VOLKMANN, in *RE* 23 (1959), col. 1754; M. GRANT, *Cleopatra*, London 1972, p. 4. This consideration alone is sufficient to dispose of Huss' thesis (*art. cit.* [n. 3], p. 202) that Cleopatra VII's mother was an Egyptian aristocrat — and to show that Strabo is not entirely to be trusted in these matters. Berenice IV and Cleopatra VII would then be the children of Ptolemy XII and Cleopatra V mentioned in *OGIS* 185, dated August 69. Huss objects (p. 193 with n. 11) that references to royal 'children' were a frequent topos in Greek religious inscriptions, not necessarily representing fact. However, given the chronology and the total absence of any suggestion of Cleopatra VII's illegitimacy by

Secondly, even though Strabo questions the legitimacy of Ptolemy XII's daughters, he makes no suggestion that his sons were illegitimate, and nor does any other classical source. Rather, he is careful to point out that they did not accede in 58 because they were too young¹⁰⁶. They were certainly born well after 69, so the theory that Cleopatra V died or was removed in 69 requires an alternative explanation for their legitimacy.

One possible explanation, based on a mention of the 'wives' and 'children' of Ptolemy XII in stele BM 886, is that he instituted polygamy, essentially abolishing the position of queen¹⁰⁷. This mention occurs in a description of a royal visit to Memphis which appears to be connected with the installation of Psherenptah III as High Priest of Memphis in 76. At that time, however, Cleopatra V was undoubtedly queen and only one known royal child is possible. If the description is to be taken literally, the visit must have occurred after 69. While this is possible, two other objections can be raised against the theory of polygamy. Firstly, the spacing of the births of Ptolemy XII's children is fully consistent with the theory of there being a single spouse at any given time. Secondly, it is hard to imagine, not only that such a radical departure from past practice would have entirely escaped the notice of classical authors, but also that any of the resultant children would be accepted as legitimate by them. The suggestion made long ago by Bevan¹⁰⁸, that the phrase represents a traditionalist Egyptian perception of the makeup of the Ptolemaic court, is still more likely to be correct.

The theory more often advanced by proponents of the view that Cleopatra V was not the mother of Ptolemy XII's later children is to suppose that he married a second queen¹⁰⁹. However, there is absolutely no trace of such a queen in either the classical or the Egyptian record, not even after the birth of his sons. Huss accepts that Cleopatra V survived the unknown events of 69, but argues that she cannot have mothered Ptolemy XII's later children because the events of 58 show that she

Roman propagandists, the onus is surely on Huss to demonstrate that this particular reference is *not* factual.

¹⁰⁶ This distinction, clearly drawn by Strabo, is overlooked by Huss.

¹⁰⁷ E.A.E. REYMOND, *Or* 46 (1977), p. 13.

¹⁰⁸ E. BEVAN, *op. cit.* (n. 20), p. 349.

¹⁰⁹ So M. GRANT, *op. cit.* (n. 105), p. 4, 289, and W. HUSS, *art. cit.* (n. 3), p. 197-203, who suggests she was a member of the family of the Memphite high priests.

was an implacable political opponent of her husband¹¹⁰. Yet her near-invisibility in the Berenicean regime suggests that she was not an active participant but was used as a legitimising figure-head. Even if political friction did exist between her and Ptolemy XII in 69, the career of Cleopatra II clearly shows that the possibility of reconciliation, either personal or political, cannot be ruled out. Ptolemy XII's apparent failure to replace Cleopatra V publicly speaks strongly to the proposition that some such solution was found. Finally, the total absence of classical commentary on the maternity of his children, apart from the dubious statement of Strabo, suggests that there was nothing unusual to remark upon, which would not be the case if their mother was anyone other than a Ptolemaic princess.

An additional problem raised by the classical sources is that Porphyry names a Cleopatra 'VI' Tryphæna as a daughter of Ptolemy XII¹¹¹. According to him, she was installed as queen in 58 together with her sister Berenice IV, but died a year later. Apart from Porphyry, our classical sources are only aware of Berenice IV as queen between 58 and 55. Nevertheless, a papyrus referring to 'the queens' is clear evidence that the dual reign actually occurred¹¹².

This account conflicts with Strabo on several counts. Most importantly, it requires both of these daughters to be legitimate, and it provides Ptolemy XII with a fourth daughter. Bouché-Leclercq proposed that Porphyry called Cleopatra Tryphæna his daughter in error, and that in reality the coregency instituted in 58 was between Cleopatra V and her eldest daughter Berenice IV¹¹³. In support of this, Macurdy noted that a coregency of two sisters, implied by Porphyry's account, was unprecedented, and served no explicable function. However, if 'Cleopatra VI' was in fact Ptolemy XII's queen, her presence in Berenice's regime served a clear role in legitimising it. The fact that she was not named as sole regent in 58 may imply, as Macurdy observed, that there were doubts about her ability or her willingness to

¹¹⁰ W. HUSS, *art. cit.* (n. 3), p. 196-197.

¹¹¹ Porphyry, *FGrH* 260 F2.14.

¹¹² *BGU* VIII 1762. Berenice IV was sole ruler no later than August 57; *P. Oxy.* LV 13777. J.E.G. WHITEHORNE, in *Akten des 21. Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses, Berlin 1995*, Stuttgart 1997, II p. 1009ff., has recently argued that the two queens were not coregents but were in opposition to each other. However, *BGU* VIII 1762 refers to a *strategos* reporting to both queens, and to troops reporting to both queens, which requires joint control of the administration, not civil conflict.

¹¹³ *Vide* n. 90.

rule, which in turn suggests that she may have been removed in 69 for non-political reasons¹¹⁴.

Stähelin opposed Bouché-Leclercq's theories on this point by asserting the primacy of Porphyry as a source over Strabo; by implication, Strabo simply recorded the wrong number of daughters¹¹⁵. Neither he nor any subsequent scholar has presented a compelling argument in support of this position. Since Strabo spent much time in Egypt and wrote within living memory of the Ptolemaic regime, while Porphyry not only wrote two centuries later but survives only in the fourth-century redaction of Eusebius, Strabo is surely to be preferred unless there is a clear conflict with more contemporary evidence. While such a conflict arises on the question of legitimacy, it does not occur on the number and names of Ptolemy XII's children.

The simplest explanation of the evidence, both Egyptian and classical, remains that advocated by Bouché-Leclercq in 1904. The Edfu reliefs prove that Cleopatra V did not die in 69, though for different reasons than Bouché-Leclercq supposed; Strabo's statement on illegitimacy confused Berenice IV, daughter of Ptolemy XII, with Berenice III, his sister, who is described by Pausanias as the only legitimate child of Ptolemy IX; and Porphyry's statement, that Cleopatra Tryphæna was Ptolemy XII's daughter, is an error for his wife. It follows that Cleopatra V almost certainly died in 57¹¹⁶.

We may therefore reasonably conclude that Cleopatra V was the mother of all of Ptolemy XII's known children¹¹⁷. It follows that her reproductive career covers at least the years 75 to 59. It further follows that she married Ptolemy XII as a young teenager immediately on his accession, and was most likely born in the early to mid 90's. From the analysis presented above, she was about 20 years younger than her husband, and could not have had the same mother. If she was the daughter of Ptolemy IX then she was, for these reasons, certainly illegitimate and a half-sister of Ptolemy XII.

As to her early life, nothing is known. The simplest assumption is that she grew up in the royal court at Alexandria. Macurdy suggests that she was present with Ptolemy XII at the court of Mithridates, and

¹¹⁴ G.H. MACURDY, *op. cit.* (n. 21), p. 178.

¹¹⁵ *Vide* n. 92.

¹¹⁶ On Rickett's thesis that she died in 55 or later, *vide* n. 95.

¹¹⁷ Cf. A. BOUCHÉ-LECLERCQ, *op. cit.* (n. 2), II p. 145 n. 1; P. GREEN, *op. cit.* (n. 28), p. 901 n. 21.

accompanied him back to Egypt¹¹⁸. The difficulty with this suggestion is to account for her presence in Pontus in the first place, just as it is difficult to explain the presence there of Ptolemy XII if he was born in Cyprus in the mid 90's. In his case the simplest solution is that he was born early enough to have been sent to Cos, and hence was never in Cyprus; in hers it is that she was never in Pontus.

6. CONCLUSION

When Ptolemy XII ascended the throne in late 80, he chose a wife. In doing so, he ignored any commitments he had made to Mithridates while in captivity in favour of the traditional Ptolemaic practice of choosing a member of the royal family. If we take the Egyptian record literally — which we have no good reason to do — we conclude that he married an illegitimate and much younger half-sister. Yet there is every reason to believe that a fully legitimate and marriageable princess of the same age as his putative sister was available to him, the daughter and only surviving child of his father's lifelong rival Ptolemy X. Not only was she in the right place, at the right time, and of the right age and condition, but she also had clearly superior political value over a bastard daughter of Ptolemy IX: by marrying her, he could hope to set the final seal on a family vendetta which had lasted for over 80 years, ever since the civil war between Ptolemy VI and Ptolemy VIII. I propose for all these reasons that this princess was in fact Cleopatra V.

In the course of this study we have had occasion to re-examine several other problems in female Ptolemaic genealogy. In each case, we have seen that there exists a simple solution using a known member of the family which is fully consistent with the contemporary facts, the bulk of the subsequent classical record, and the practice of the dynasty as it is otherwise recorded. These solutions are not provably correct, and will only become so if new evidence emerges, but in the current state of our knowledge they represent the solutions which require the fewest extraneous assumptions.

The suggested reconstruction of late Ptolemaic genealogy is summarised in Figure 1. A summary of the proposed chronology for the events discussed in this paper is provided in Figure 2. The new hypotheses presented herein are shown in italics.

¹¹⁸ G.H. MACURDY, *op. cit.* (n. 21), p. 176.

Figure 1: Proposed Genealogy of Cleopatra V Tryphæna and the Later Ptolemies

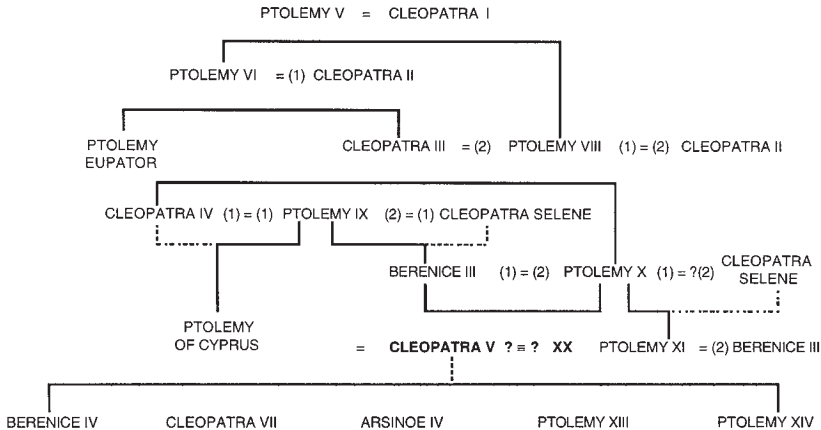


Figure 2: Proposed Chronology of the Later Ptolemies

c. 118	<i>Marriage of Ptolemy IX to Cleopatra IV. Their exile to Cyprus.</i>
Late 117	<i>Birth of Ptolemy XII to Cleopatra IV</i>
June 116	<i>Death of Ptolemy VIII. Accession of Ptolemy IX, coregent with Cleopatra II and III.</i>
Late 116	<i>Birth of Ptolemy of Cyprus to Cleopatra IV</i>
c. Dec. 116	<i>Death of Cleopatra II.</i>
Early 115	<i>Divorce of Cleopatra IV. Marriage of Ptolemy IX to Cleopatra Selene.</i>
	<i>Cleopatra Selene becomes official mother to Ptolemy XII and Ptolemy of Cyprus.</i>
Late 115	<i>Earliest date for birth of Berenice III to Cleopatra Selene</i>
115/114	<i>Cleopatra IV raises fleet in Cyprus, marries Antiochus IX.</i>
114	<i>Accession of Ptolemy X in Cyprus.</i>
112	<i>Death of Cleopatra IV.</i>
109/108	<i>Ptolemy XII acts as eponymous priest.</i>
107	<i>Expulsion of Ptolemy IX from Alexandria by Cleopatra III and Ptolemy X.</i>
	<i>Ptolemy XII, Ptolemy of Cyprus and Cleopatra Selene remain in Alexandria.</i>
c. 107	<i>Marriage of Ptolemy X to Cleopatra Selene.</i>
c. 105/4	<i>Birth of Ptolemy XI to Cleopatra Selene.</i>
103	<i>Attempt of Ptolemy IX to regain throne.</i>
	<i>Ptolemy XI, Ptolemy XII and Ptolemy of Cyprus sent to Cos.</i>
	<i>Divorce of Cleopatra Selene from Ptolemy X.</i>

103/102	Marriage of Cleopatra Selene to Antiochus VIII.
Early 101	Marriage of Ptolemy X to Berenice III.
101	Death of Cleopatra III. Berenice III first named as queen.
100-95	<i>Birth of Cleopatra V to Berenice III.</i>
95	Marriage of Cleopatra Selene to Antiochus X.
c. 90	Birth of Antiochus XIII to Cleopatra Selene. Another son born shortly thereafter.
88	Ptolemy IX regains throne. Flight of Ptolemy X, Berenice III and Cleopatra V.
	Mithridates VI raids Cos and kidnaps Ptolemy XI, Ptolemy XII and Ptolemy of Cyprus.
87	Death of Ptolemy X in battle. Berenice III returns to Alexandria with Cleopatra V.
84	Ptolemy XI escapes from Mithridates to Rome.
Early 80	Death of Ptolemy IX. Accession of Berenice III.
Mid 80	Joint reign and murders of Berenice III and Ptolemy XI.
Mid-late 80	Return of Ptolemy XII and Ptolemy of Cyprus. Accession of Ptolemy XII.
Late 80/Jan.79	Ptolemy XII marries Cleopatra V.
79-74	Birth of Berenice IV to Cleopatra V.
75	Cleopatra Selene asks Senate to confirm her sons by Antiochus X as heirs to Egypt.
69	Birth of Cleopatra VII to Cleopatra V. Death of Cleopatra Selene.
Aug.-Oct. 69	Cleopatra V removed from public life.
c. 67	Birth of Arsinoe IV to Cleopatra V.
61	Birth of Ptolemy XIII to Cleopatra V.
59	Birth of Ptolemy XIV to Cleopatra V.
58	Roman annexation of Cyprus. Death of Ptolemy of Cyprus.
Late 58	Exile of Ptolemy XII. Accession of Cleopatra V and Berenice IV.
57	Death of Cleopatra V.
Early 55	Return of Ptolemy XII. Death of Berenice IV.
51	Death of Ptolemy XII. Accession of Cleopatra VII.

Chris BENNETT

VITICULTURE AND WINE CONSUMPTION
IN THE ARSINOITE NOME
(*P. KÖLN* V 221)

A. NEW READINGS FOR *P. KÖLN* V 221

P. Köln V 221 is an apomoira account from the Arsinoite nome, dating to ca. 190 BC. This interesting document provides exact amounts of the total produce of vineyards and of their apomoira for a six-month period. The large amounts show that it deals with the produce and the apomoira of a large part, or even the whole, of the Arsinoite nome (see section C below). The account records more specifically:

- I. The produce of vineyards, specified in metretai.
- II. The apomoira of that produce, specified in metretai.
- III. The same apomoira, converted into copper drachmai.
- IV. The apomoira on the produce of orchards, specified in copper drachmai.

Most of the text is too fragmentary to allow for a reconstruction of the calculations. We have concentrated on ll. 6-20, which are rather well-preserved and deal with the total for the whole area. By proposing a few textual corrections (which are printed in bold in the table on the next page and which were kindly checked on the original by K. Maresh), we can make sense of the figures.

B. THE RATE OF THE APOMOIRA ACCORDING TO *P. KÖLN* V 221 AND THE
CONSEQUENCES FOR OUR KNOWLEDGE OF CLERUCHIC LAND IN THE
ARSINOITES

The normal rate of vineyard-apomoira in the Arsinoite nome was 1/6 of the total yield. The lower rate of 1/10 was reserved for cleruchs¹. The rate of 1/6 is found in *P. Köln* V 221, l. 14 in relation to a small amount:

¹ See *P. Rev. Laws*, col. 24, l. 4-13; W. CLARYSSE – K. VANDORPE, *The Ptolemaic Apomoira*, in H. MELAERTS (ed.), *Le culte du souverain dans l'Égypte ptolémaïque au III^e siècle avant notre ère* (*Studia Hellenistica*, 34), Leuven 1998, pp. 5-42.

the total produce of some newly planted vineyards is 231 1/2 metretai, the apomoira is 1/6 or 38 1/2 1/12 metretai. The totals in ll. 6-7 and 17-18 give another rate:

- ll. 6-7: an apomoira of 37[,926 11/12] on a total of 296,969 1/2 1/12 = 12.77% or ca. 1/8.
- ll. 17-18: an apomoira of 37,965 1/2 on a total of 297,200 1/2 1/12 = 12.78% or ca. 1/8.

New readings of the amounts in *P. Köln* V 221 (The new readings are marked in bold.)

line	I. Total of the produce of the vineyards, specified in metretai	II. The apomoira on that produce, specified in metretai	III. The apomoira on that produce, converted into money: 1 metretes = 400 dr.	IV. The apomoira on orchards, specified in money
6-7	[2]96,969 1/2 1/12 metr ^a .	37,[926 5/6 1/12] metr ^b .	x 400: 2528 tal. 2766 dr. 4 ob ^c .	→ 2528 tal. 2766 dr. 4 ob.
9-10				(+) 64 tal. 3626 dr. [4 ob.] (=) 2593 tal. 393 dr. 2 ob.
14	(+) 231 1/2 metr.	(+) 38 1/2 1/12 metr.	x 400: (+) 2 tal. 3433 dr. 2 ob.	
17-18	(=) 297,200 1/2 1/12 metr. (deficit: 1/2)	(=) 37,965 1/2 metr.	x 400: (=) 2531 tal. 200 dr.	
19-20			2531 tal. 200 dr. (+) 64 tal. 3626 dr. 4 ob. (=) 2595 tal. 3826 dr. 4 ob.	

^a We read $\overset{\kappa\theta}{\text{M}}\zeta\gamma\xi\theta \angle \text{ιβ}$ (296,969 1/2 1/12) instead of $\overset{\kappa\beta}{\text{M}}\zeta\pi\xi\epsilon \angle \text{ιβ}$ (226,865 1/2 1/12). The editor interpreted his reading $\pi\xi\epsilon$ as 865, being well aware of the problem that π is 80, not 800. The sign, however, is γ (900) not π (80). It is true that in ll. 17 and 33 the scribe uses a different form for 900.

^b The editor supplements 37,[810 5/6 1/12 1/72] in order to arrive at one sixth of the total 226,865 1/2 1/12 as read by him. It is clear, however, that the apomoira in this text is not always one sixth, but a figure between one sixth and one tenth (see below: B). We restore 37,[926 5/6 1/12] by dividing the money figure 2528 tal. 2766 dr. 4 ob. by 400 (see table, col. II-III).

^c The editor reads the money price as 2528 tal. 4362 dr. 4 ob. According to K. Maresch, the faint remaining traces of this figure may well fit our proposal $\text{[B]}\phi\xi\zeta$ or 2766 dr. (see table, col. III). We arrive at this figure by subtracting the apomoira of the orchards 64 tal. 3626 dr. [4 ob.] — this figure is damaged in ll. 8-9, but well preserved in l. 19 — from the total 2593 tal. 393 dr. 2 ob. in l. 10 (see table, col. IV).

– see also *P. Köln* V 221 fragm. C, ll. 6-7: an apomoira of 2,563 on a total of 19,636 = 13.05% or ca. 1/8.

About the second example the editor remarked that «der sechste Teil von 297,200 $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{12}$ ist 49,533 $\frac{1}{3}$ $\frac{1}{12}$ $\frac{1}{72}$, (...) Wie diese Differenzen zu erklären sind, ist mir (...) unverständlich».

The solution lies in the high amounts. As said before, the apomoira account must concern a large part of the Arsinoites. It is known that there was a lot of cleruchic land in the Arsinoites and the cleruchs paid an apomoira of 1/10 instead of the normal rate of 1/6. The apomoira amounts in the Köln account are a mixture of apomoira of 1/6 and 1/10. Apparently, the average is ca. 1/8. Therefore, the total produce in *P. Köln* V 221 being 297,200 $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{12}$, the apomoira is 37,965 $\frac{1}{2}$ or 12.78%. Consequently ca. 173,520 metretai of wine or 58.5% come from land on which the owners paid an apomoira tax of 1/10, no doubt mostly cleruchic land.

C. PLAYING WITH FIGURES

P. Köln V 221 allows us to assess for the first time the importance of wine production and consumption in the Arsinoites in the Ptolemaic period. Our starting point is l.17, where the total of the wine produce for a non-specified area is given as 297,200 $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{12}$ metretai. For our further calculations we have rounded off this figure to 300,000 metretai. When the metretes is equated with 37 lt², this corresponds to a production of 111,000 hl of wine:

297,200 $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{12}$ metretai or 111,000 hl of wine

From l.21-22 this looks like a half-year figure³, in which case it should be multiplied by two in order to obtain the full yearly rate for the whole area:

600,000 metretai or 222,000 hl of wine

² 37 lt is the average of the Attic metretes of 39 lt and the Alexandrian metretes of 34.5 lt.

³ Line 21: read εἰς (ἐξάμηνον) instead of εἰς ζ (μῆνας).

The passage (to l. 27) deals with the expected revenues of the months Thoth to Mecheir. Line 28 continues εἰς δὲ ταῦτα ἀναφέρεται διαγεγράφθαι, «for these (taxes) it is recorded that is paid», (the editor reads: εἰς δὲ τὰ καθ' ἕνα φέρεται διαγεγράφθαι); our reading is paralleled by *P. Tebt.* I 99, l. 26: εἰς ταύτας ἀναφέρει NN μεμ[ετρῆ(σθαι)]. Lines 29-40 contain the sums paid for the months Pachon to Thoth. These are very low and are undoubtedly overdue or provisional payments; these sums are most probably used to pay off soldiers in the Fayum, as recorded in l. 41-49.

Starting from this amount the following arguments show that *P. Köln V 221* deals with the whole Arsinoite nome.

(1) A. French estimates the normal yield for an ancient vineyard at 100 to 150 gallons an acre⁴, i.e. just over 10 hl/ha. D.W. Rathbone, however, prefers a much higher yield of 25 hl/ha for the third century AD Appianus Estate; for this «average yield appropriate to intensive, specialised vineyards» he refers to *P. Cairo Masp. I 67104*, a contract of 530 AD: the yield implied by this text is 26.75 hl/ha⁵. We have found a similar yield in *P. Tebt. III 1062* of 207 BC⁶; this text provides the area of a vineyard (1 1/6 aroura or 3215 m²) and the amount of the apomoira (3 7/8 metretai): this gives a yield of 26.75 hl/ha⁷.

If we start from a yield of ca. 25 hl/ha, 222,000 hl correspond to an area of 8,880 ha or 88,8 km². If then we estimate with Rathbone⁸ the cultivated area of the Fayum in Greco-Roman times at about 1200 km², this is 1/14 of the Arsinoite nome, which is reasonable⁹. If our text deals with the meris of Polemon only, the total area of vineyards for the whole nome should be (at least) tripled to 266 km² or almost 1/4 of the cultivated area of the Fayum. This is clearly too much and therefore the figures must be for the whole nome. Conclusion: *P. Köln V 221* deals with the Fayum as a whole.

⁴ A. FRENCH, *The Growth of the Athenian Economy*, New York 1964, p. 21.

⁵ D.W. RATHBONE, *Economic Rationalism and Rural Society in Third-Century A.D. Egypt. The Heroninos Archive and the Appianus Estate*, Cambridge 1991, p. 247 and n. 51. Rathbone's figures are in agreement with Columella. For the uncertainty of Columella's estimate, see R. DUNCAN-JONES, *The Economy of the Roman Empire. Quantitative Studies*, Cambridge 1982², p. 44-48, who compares early 20th-century Italy, where the average yields are only 8 hl per ha. According to A. TCHERNIA, *Le vin de l'Italie romaine (Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, I 261)*, Rome 1986, p. 359-360, a yield of 10 hl/ha is a poor to average yield, a yield of 20-30 hl/ha an average to good yield.

⁶ The text dates to a year 15; as the price of the wine is 300 drachmai per metretes, year 15 must correspond to 207 BC, see W. CLARYSSE – E. LANCIEERS, in *AncSoc* 20 (1989), p. 117-132.

⁷ We assume that the apomoira in this text from the Fayum is 1/6 of the yield, as the taxpayer is not a cleruch and thus not subject to the lower tax level of 1/10. Thus, to obtain the total produce of the vineyard, the apomoira of 3 7/8 metretai has to be multiplied by 6 = 23 1/4 metretes. If we calculate the metretes at 37 lt (see note 2), this gives a total produce of ca. 860 lt. Consequently the yield for 1 1/6 aroura (= 3215 m²) is 860 lt or 26,75 hl/ha.

⁸ D.W. RATHBONE, *Villages, Land and Population in Graeco-Roman Egypt, PCPhS* 36 (1990), p. 103-142, esp. 111.

⁹ Compare the Antaeopolites in Roman times, where vineyards make up 1/20 of the total cultivated area, see J. GASCOU – L. MACCOULL, *Le cadastre d'Aphroditô, T&MByz* 10 (1987), p. 118.

(2) The above model can be checked from the consumer's point of view: 222,000 hl is enough wine to satisfy 222,000 persons each drinking an average of 100 lt of wine a year¹⁰ (the natives probably drank more beer than wine). If this is a reasonable assumption, then this production sufficed for more than twice the population of the Arsinoite nome, which D.J. Thompson and W. Clarysse in *P. Count*¹¹ set at somewhat less than 100,000 people. We know the Arsinoites was an important producer of wine. *P. Köln* V 221 shows that it was an exporter.

(3) A third approach is based on *P. Petrie* III 57a (204-202 BC), where the tax farmer of the apomoira has to pay the following sums to the government:

for the topoi around Philadelphiea	9000 dr. a year
for Boubastos	3000 dr. a year

Though the text dates from the very end of the third century BC, the figures are given in silver, not copper drachmai¹². Given a wine price of 5 dr. per metretes, 9000 dr. correspond to an apomoira of 1800 metretai, and if we count the apomoira at 1/8 (halfway between 1/6 and 1/10, see above: B), this implies a production of 14,400 metretai, i.e. 5,760 hl for the area of Philadelphiea.

If we suppose that the village covers one percent of the wine production of the Fayum¹³, we come to a total production for the nome of

¹⁰ Compare K.W. HARL, *Coinage in the Roman Economy*, Baltimore-London 1996, p. 279-280. This is modest in comparison to what Roman soldiers got: 0.5 litre a day, see C. ZUCKERMAN, *Legio V Macedonica in Egypt. CLP 199 Revisited*, *Tyche* 3 (1988), p. 280.

In estimating ancient wine consumption, we can also compare the better known figures for the Middle Ages and Modern Times given by N. PURCELL, *Wine and Wealth in Ancient Italy*, in *JRS* 75 (1985), p. 1-19, esp. 15 n. 71: Valladolid in the late 16th cent.: 100 lt per person a year; Paris ca. 1780: 120 lt per person a year; Rome in the 18th cent.: 200 lt per person a year. For ancient Rome, see A. TCHERNIA, *Le vin de l'Italie romaine*, p. 10, who estimates the daily consumption of a male adult at 0.8 à 1 lt a day, i.e. 300 lt a year. We would like to thank R. Van Uytven for these references.

¹¹ Forthcoming in *Collectanea Hellenistica*.

¹² This also results from the very detailed figures in *P. Petrie* III 57b, containing even fractions of obols. For the continued use of the silver standard in state bookkeeping, even after 211 BC, see T. REEKMANS, *Monetary History and the Dating of Ptolemaic Papyri*, in *Studia Hellenistica* V, Leuven 1948, p. 22.

¹³ This is an extremely rough estimate. We base ourselves on the count of D.J. Thompson: 135 villages for the Fayum, accepting that Philadelphiea is bigger than average. Another way of counting would be based on the total population of the Fayum in the third cent. (*P. Count*, forthcoming) of somewhat less than 100,000 and the actual popula-

576,000 hl, i.e. more than twice the 222,000 hl of *P. Köln*. We would explain this as follows: the topoi of Philadelphieia are more than just a village. We refer to *P. Sorb.* I 56, where the toparchy of Panetbeus is subdivided in three zones: «the settlements around (τὰ περί) Arsinoe, those around Bakchias (the villages of Bakchias, Psenarpsenesis, Karanis and Soknopaiou Nesos) and those around Philadelphieia». Philadelphieia and its topoi could thus be one third of a toparchy.

Perhaps Boubastos was a typical village, with its 3000 dr., whereas Philadelphieia with its topoi covers a larger area, like Bakchias, which covers four villages. If we start from Boubastos and multiply its production by 135, the total of Fayum villages according to *P. Count*, we arrive at the following result:

$$\begin{aligned} 3000 \text{ dr.} &= \text{apomoir} \text{ of } 600 \text{ metretai} \Rightarrow \text{production of } (600 \times 8 =) \\ &4,800 \text{ metretai} = 1920 \text{ hl} \\ 1920 \text{ hl} \times 135 \text{ (villages)} &= 259,200 \text{ hl for the whole Arsinoites} \end{aligned}$$

This is unbelievably close to the total of 222,000 hl of *P. Köln* V 221. Some deduction should be made for the paradeisoi, because in the 3000 dr. of the Petrie papyrus, the apomoir on paradeisoi is included. In *P. Köln* V 221 l.9 and l.19 the figure for paradeisoi (there called μετέωροι κάρποι) is negligible, but in l. 37 it looks more substantial. In any case the figures for paradeisoi were far outnumbered by those of the ampelones.

(4) The apomoir on the total production of 297,200 1/2 1/12 metretai is 37,965 1/2 metretai or 12.78%. This is the result of the existence of two rates in the apomoir: a normal rate of 1/6 or 16.7% and a privileged rate of 1/10 or 10% for cleruchic land (see above: B). The present figure shows that no less than 58.5% of the apomoir was at the privileged rate: thus more than half of the wine in the Arsinoite nome was grown by cleruchs. For the first time we are able to see the Greek impact on the production of wine in Ptolemaic Egypt. Among the remaining 41.5% there must have been some civilian Greeks. Greeks clearly dominated

tion figure of Philadelphieia in the early Roman period (A. Hanson, see D.W. RATHBONE, *Villages, Land and Population in Graeco-Roman Egypt*, *PCPhS* 36 (1990), p. 133). We then accept that Philadelphieia had an average wine production, but perhaps this village, with a lot of cleruchs, produced more wine than most, in which case the figure for the nome would be too high. Given a yield of 20 hl/ha the 5,760 hl of Philadelphieia would cover 288 ar. The village has, again in the early Roman period, 550 ar. of garden land and 2,826 ar. of private grainland (figures from D.W. Rathbone).

the wine business, which was meant not only for their private consumption, but also for export. How important this business was for the Greek community can be roughly calculated as follows:

Yearly wine production in the Fayum:	600,000 metretai
Deduction for taxes (apomoirā and epigraphē) at 30%:	<u>− 200,000 metretai</u>
remainder	400,000 metretai
Deduction for vineyards owned by Egyptians at 30%:	<u>− 132,000 metretai</u>
remainder for the Greeks	268,000 metretai
Value in drachmai at 5 dr. per metretres:	1,340,000 dr.

If we reckon with some 7,000 Greeks households in the Fayum (see *P. Count*), this amounts to an average yearly income of 191 dr. for each Greek household. This should be set against the average wage of an agricultural worker: 2 obols a day, i.e. 120 dr. a year.

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HERODES *PHILORHOMAIOS**

King Herod, often flattered in modern research and popular literature with the epithet 'Great'¹ was described in various contemporary documents, not only by such frequently granted characteristics as pious², benefactor³, possessed of moral excellence⁴ and good will⁵, but also as a Jew⁶, Friend of Caesar (Augustus)⁷ and Friend of the Romans⁸. It is one aspect of this last epithet that will be discussed here at some length. There is no need here to review the friendship of Augustus and Herod, based as it was on the latter's steadfast loyalty to the former (following on his and previously his father's steadfast loyalty to Pompey, Julius Caesar, Cassius and Antony, each in his turn): was being Friend of the Romans only an extension, as it were, of being a Friend of Augustus and

* I have argued some of the points of this paper in a Hebrew publication: *Herod and Rome: New Aspects*, in I.M. GAFNI et al. (eds.), *The Jews in the Hellenistic-Roman World. Studies in Memory of Menahem Stern*, Jerusalem 1996, p. 133-145. Once again I would like to recall the memory of that brutally murdered scholar, who did so much for our understanding of Herod and his times. That paper appeared before part of the evidence discussed here became available, notably the volume edited by K. FITTSCHEN and G. FOERSTER (n. 33). Once again I am indebted to Hannah Cotton for wise counsel.

¹ The most recent biographical study, P. RICHARDSON, *Herod. King of the Jews and Friend of the Romans*, Columbia (SC) 1966, p. 12, 207, explains his eschewing 'Great' and employs an English equivalent of *philorhomaïos* in his subtitle. Despite uncalled for flights into journalistic fancy, which also betray the author's unfamiliarity with, *inter alia*, Roman politics (e.g. he believes that the official *acta diurna* at the time of Herod's death would mention Antony and Cleopatra by name, p. 2, 3) and Jewish history (Alexander Jannaeus incorporated Idumaea into Judaea, p. 6) there is much in the book that is useful and deserves to be taken seriously. The exhaustive, if not faultless, study of A. SCHALIT, *König Herodes. Der Mann und sein Werk*, Berlin 1969, has not been replaced yet, though the rapid accumulation of new material — as illustrated, e.g., in the present study — renders such a replacement in the near future a *desideratum*.

² *OGIS* 427 = *CIAtt* III 551; A. KUSHNIR-STEIN, *An Inscribed Lead Weight from Ashdod: a Reconsideration*, *ZPE* 105 (1995), p. 81-84; *SEG* XII (1955), no. 150.

³ *OGIS* 414 = *CIAtt* III 550; *OGIS* 427 = *CIAtt* III 551; Y. MESHORER, *A Stone Weight from the Reign of Herod*, *IEJ* 20 (1970), p. 97-98; cf. *SEG* XII (1955), no. 150.

⁴ *OGIS* 427 = *CIAtt* III 551; cf. *SEG* XII (1955), no. 150.

⁵ *OGIS* 414 = *CIAtt* III 550.

⁶ H.M. COTTON – J. GEIGER, *Masada II. The Yigael Yadin Excavations 1963-1965. Final Reports. The Latin and Greek Documents*, Jerusalem 1989, nos. 804-816. Elsewhere Herod is called King of the Jews only in the childhood prophecy Jos., *AJ* XV 373, and once or twice elsewhere in Josephus: *BJ* I 282, cf. *ibid.* 360.

⁷ *OGIS* 427 = *CIAtt* III 551; Y. MESHORER, *art. cit.* (n. 3), p. 97-98; cf. *SEG* XII (1955), no. 150.

⁸ *OGIS* 414 = *CIAtt* III 550.

loyal supporter of his regime, or did it entail more than a purely political message?⁹

Philhellenism, a term coined in Antiquity and safely entrenched in modern scholarship, is two-pronged, and often employed in both a political and a cultural sense, Friend of the Greeks and Friend of Things Greek¹⁰. It is well-known that Hasmonaean Judaea underwent in some respects a cultural revolution, proceeding from its birth in a crisis of political and ideological confrontation with Hellenism to a maturity that willingly absorbed all those of its manifestations that did not — and, in the view of some staunch interpreters of the Law also some that did — evidently contradict the tenets and commandments of Judaism. Needless to say Herod himself, perhaps personally less committed to these tenets and commandments than some of his predecessors, was a conspicuous champion of Hellenism, both in his own realm and in a considerable number of Greek cities outside it¹¹. Are we then to assume that Herod's attitude to Rome was one of purely practical *Realpolitik*, maintaining his links with the ruling power on a plane of expediency while pursuing the internal affairs of his expanding realm without regard for the fashions and developments of Augustan Rome? Was Hellenism the essence of Herod's cultural policies and practices and did it, in fact, contradict patterns one would more readily associate with Romanisation? Would Herod's high-ranking Roman friends and patrons, Agrippa and Augustus himself, on visiting his realm recognise emerging motifs reminiscent of Rome and Italy in a distant Eastern land? Allowing these developments a more general application, was Hellenistic monarchy in the age of

⁹ For a discussion of the purely political implications of *philorhomaioi* and similar terms see D. BRAUND, *Rome and the Friendly King. The Character of Client Kingship*, London 1984, p. 105-108. Since the term is attested for Herod only in an inscription set up by the People of Athens I hasten to affirm that I am discussing here the wider meaning of his relationship with Roman civilisation without wishing to impute such insights to those responsible for setting up the inscription. However, I find it quite conceivable that the Athenians did not apply the term without reference to the King's usage or his wishes.

¹⁰ The latest edition of a standard reference work may be taken as reflecting scholarly consensus: it speaks of «the nexus of two developments... One of these is cultural, characterised by the actively favourable reception of Greek language, literature, and philosophy... The other, political, is signalled by the adoption of policy and behaviour actively represented as beneficial to, and respectful of, Greece and Greeks» (P.S. DEROW, *OCD*³ s.v. «Philhellenism»).

¹¹ A convenient conspectus of Herod's buildings, a helpful indication of his euergetism, incidentally promoting Hellenistic architecture, is to be found in P. RICHARDSON, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 197-202.

Augustus an agent, conscious or otherwise, also of some degree of Romanisation, thus helpful in accelerating the rise of the phenomenon of what we usually describe as Graeco-Roman civilisation?¹²

I

In certain areas Roman influence was of a purely pragmatic kind, though even here some aspects must have formed part of the everyday experience of at least some inhabitants of Herod's kingdom. Of particular interest among these was Herod's army. Here a recent study¹³ has conclusively shown wide-ranging Roman influences, such as replacing Hellenistic methods of training and warfare with Roman techniques. Hellenistic techniques have been introduced to Judaea at least since the times of the Hasmonaean ruler Jonathan, so that in Herod's time some of them have been established for four generations. Any departure on Herod's part from such well proven models must have been the result of deliberate, well considered decisions.

Discussing (p. 175-180) the Babylonian Jews, 500 cavalry-archers and a hundred members of the family of their leader Zamaris, settled by Herod in Batanaea, Shatzman shows that in all probability they operated, after the fashion of Italian colonies rather than of Hellenistic cleruchies, in their immediate region only. Likewise the veterans settled in Samaria were discharged after a length of service conforming to that established by Augustus (p. 191). However, it is the organisation and character of the army where the influences can most clearly be discerned. Was the heavy infantry arrayed after the manner of the phalanx or that of the legion? It appears that Herod commanded Roman units already in the forties (p. 205) and in the war against the last Hasmonaean ruler Antigonus the Jewish units under his command were fashioned after the

¹² It should be kept in mind, of course, that Romanisation includes, rather than excludes, features of Hellenisation; see for a recent methodological review of the question E. CURTI – E. DENCH – J.R. PATTERSON, *The Archaeology of Central and Southern Roman Italy: Recent Trends and Approaches*, *JRS* 86 (1996), p. 170-189, esp. 181-189. This, and the earlier, but still basic collection P. ZANKER (ed.), *Hellenismus in Mittelitalien*. Kolloquium in Göttingen vom 5. bis 9. Juni 1974 (*Abh. Ak. Wiss. Gött., Phil.-hist. Kl.*, 3. Folge 97/1-2), Göttingen 1976, should serve, *mutatis mutandis*, as guidelines in investigating Herodian Judaea.

¹³ I. SHATZMAN, *The Armies of the Hasmonaeans and Herod. From Hellenistic to Roman Frameworks* (*Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum*, 25), Tübingen 1991.

model of Roman cohorts. Possibly also Joseph, the brother of Herod, commanded such a unit and at any rate such a unit was employed by Archelaus in order to suppress the unrest in Jerusalem on the death of his father (p. 206). This agrees well with the fact that Herod's army, joining the victorious side after Actium, was organised after the Roman pattern (p. 207). Apparently some of the commanders of Herod's army were Romans (p. 209) who could only be expected to introduce Roman methods and concepts, and it seems probable that the units were organised on the model of the 500 man cohort (p. 211). From the size of the unit one may conclude that the tactics, too, were those used by the Roman army — little wonder, indeed, to realise that Herod preferred the victorious Roman model to the vanquished Hellenistic paradigm (p. 211-212).

These conclusions call for some inferences. We possess evidence that Sebaste (Samaria) was an important recruiting-ground for Herod's army¹⁴ and probably the same may be said of some other Hellenistic cities in his realm, notably the newly rebuilt city of Caesarea (Straton's Tower). The soldiers and their families, especially after their discharge and presumable resettling in their cities must have been carriers of at least some superficial manifestations of Romanisation, such as some soldiers' Latin and acquaintance with certain typically Roman implements and customs. As illustrations may serve such officers as the centurion apparently settled at Capernaum¹⁵, about a generation after Herod, and the veteran centurion Cornelius¹⁶ at Caesarea one generation later still.

¹⁴ I. SHATZMAN, *op. cit.* (n. 13), p. 185.

¹⁵ Matthew 8:5ff; Luke 7:1ff; John 4:46ff.

¹⁶ Cornelius was, according to *Acts* 10:1, a centurion of a *cohors Italica*, ἑκατοντάρχης ἐκ σπείρης τῆς καλουμένης Ἰταλικῆς. This is taken by those who accept the story as evidence for the stationing of such a cohort at Caesarea in about 40, see e.g. M.P. SPEIDEL, *The Roman Army in Judaea under the Procurators. The Italian and the Augustan Cohort in the Acts of the Apostles*, *AncSoc* 13/14 (1982/83), p. 233-240, as against the distrust in the story expressed by E. SCHÜRER — G. VERMES — F. MILLAR, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ I*, Edinburgh 1973, p. 365. However, they, too, would understand the story, were they to accept it, as implying the presence of such a unit. In fact Cornelius may well have been an ex-centurion. This possibility was sensed already by T.R.S. BROUGHTON, *The Roman Army*, in F.J. FOAKES-JACKSON and K. LAKE (eds.), *The Beginnings of Christianity. Part I: The Acts of the Apostles V*, Grand Rapids 1933, p. 443, but his suggestion seems to have gone unnoticed. In verse 7 Cornelius sends to Jaffa two of his servants and a pious soldier τῶν προσκαρτερούντων αὐτῷ. It is strange that this is invariably taken to mean that the soldier was on active service under Cornelius' command: προσκαρτερέω means here, according to *LSJ*, «adhere firmly to a man», «be faithful to him», surely more fitting a retired soldier, serving his retired centurion, than a man on active service. Thus the strong objections of Schürer and his editors to the presence of a citizen cohort in Caesarea can be easily reconciled with the story in *Acts*.

There can be little doubt that these *magni centuriones* (cf. Hor., *Sat.* I 6.72) were among the fashion-setters in their communities.

Other phenomena, though close to the political realm, must have influenced the everyday life of Herod's subjects and their perception of their place in a world ruled not only by Rome's military power and political dominance, but also by Roman ideas and practices. Among these phenomena the cult of Augustus (in the guise of a cult of Augustus and Roma) and the construction of amphitheatres seem to be preeminent¹⁷.

Herod's early, and enthusiastic, embracing of the newly emerging cult of the Emperor¹⁸ may be regarded by some as not properly forming part of the subject of the present study, since it may be interpreted as being on the purely practical, political plane. However, the construction of the important cities of Caesarea and Sebaste, named after the Emperor on the sites of Straton's Tower and Samaria, together with the naming of other structures, such as Sebastos, the harbour of Caesarea, and palatial buildings in Jerusalem after Augustus or members of his family, might have been deemed as amply sufficient displays of loyalty¹⁹. No doubt Augustus' well-known appreciation of the special demands of the Jews' monotheistic faith, continuing Julius Caesar's privileges accorded to the Jews would have been more than adequate excuse for Herod for refraining from the very recent fashion of erecting temples devoted to the cult of the ruler of the Roman world — and indeed, he made a point of avoiding such gestures in the predominantly Jewish parts of his realm. Thus the erection of temples to the cult of the goddess Roma and Augustus in Caesarea, Sebaste and Paneas²⁰ must be regarded, in my view, as well beyond the call of duty even giving this duty its most comprehensive interpretation: according to this view the early introduction of ruler cult to Judaea is a declaration on the part of its king of his special relationship with the Empire and with its ruler.

¹⁷ It is ironic to note that in the event the largest and best known of all amphitheatres was erected *ex manubiis* of the Jewish War following on the destruction of Jerusalem and Herod's Temple: G. ALFÖLDY, *Eine Bauinschrift aus dem Colosseum*, ZPE 109 (1995), p. 195-226.

¹⁸ Cf. A. SCHALIT, *op cit.* (n. 1), p. 421-423.

¹⁹ For the foundation of *Caesareae urbes* by client kings see D. BRAUND, *op. cit.* (n. 9), p. 107-112.

²⁰ See the evidence assembled in H. HÄNLEIN-SCHÄFER, *Veneratio Augusti. Eine Studie zu den Tempeln des ersten römischen Kaisers*, Roma 1985, p. 198-203.

Whatever the cultural, as opposed to the political implications of the adoption of ruler cult by the King of the Jews²¹, it must be admitted that Herod's decision to build amphitheatres is quite astonishing considering that the first permanent structure of this sort in Rome was only erected by T. Statilius Taurus in the campus Martius in 29 BC²². Thus his amphitheatres in Caesarea²³, in Jerusalem²⁴ and in Jericho²⁵ and his introduction of gladiatorial combats must be viewed as following the latest, and most prominently Roman, of contemporary fashions²⁶. In this he has been justly compared²⁷ to Juba II of Mauretania, another client-king with a similar dedication to Rome and loyalty to her ruler. However Juba's kingdom, situated as it was in the Western half of the Empire, was as a matter of course in the sphere of Roman cultural influence, and his action thus far less unexpected than that of an Eastern, and essentially Hellenistic, ruler.

II

Temples devoted to the cult of Augustus and Roma as well as amphitheatres were Roman structures with a practical purpose sending an unequivocal message, in the first case to the inhabitants of the Hellenistic cities, in the second also to the Jewish subjects of the king, proclaiming not only his absolute loyalty to Rome and her ruler, but also his marching in the vanguard of the very latest developments in the capital. No special discernment of the affairs of the empire was required to realise what these structures symbolised and stood for, the spectacle of both the cult and the games providing entertainment for all those that

²¹ That Herod, ruler over a realm large parts of which had a predominantly gentile population was described by that title we learned only from H.M. COTTON – J. GEIGER *op. cit.* (n. 6), nos. 804-816, and cf. n. 6 above.

²² Suet., *Aug.* 29.5; Dio LI 23; LXII 18; cf. J.-C. GOLVIN, *L'amphithéâtre romain. Essai sur la théorisation de sa forme et de ses fonctions*, Paris 1988, p. 52-53.

²³ Jos., *AJ* XV 341; XVI 137; *BJ* I 415.

²⁴ Jos., *AJ* XV 268, 273-274.

²⁵ Jos., *AJ* XVII 161 speaks of a theatre, 194 of an amphitheatre, probably two distinct structures; see also *BJ* I 166-167; *AJ* XV 155-163. The issue of the use of these buildings under Herod has been discussed with some scepticism by Z. WEISS, *Games and Spectacles in Roman Palestine and their Reflection in Talmudic Literature*, diss., Jerusalem 1994, p. 181-184 (in Hebrew).

²⁶ T. WIEDEMANN, *Emperors and Gladiators*, London-New York 1992, esp. p. 41-44.

²⁷ J.-C. GOLVIN, *op. cit.* (n. 22), p. 271.

cared to view and participate. These edifices served practical purposes perceived perhaps by Herod as indispensable elements in his quest for displaying his Roman connexions. Other ingredients of his building activity seem to include Roman elements in a more gratuitous manner, embracing some of the tastes of his Roman friends/patrons in a way meant perhaps to set the course for other dynasts²⁸ to follow. The features presently to be considered were either in the private sphere or, if visible to a larger public, perhaps not fully understood for what they were. These gratuitous endeavours, as it were, to follow Roman fashions are testimony to Herod's perception of his role in the newly formed world of the Principate in a perhaps more profound manner than the phenomena we have hitherto discussed.

Herod the Builder is justly viewed as one of the standard images of the king, his building enterprises perhaps the most impressive ones in the long and intricate history of his country, in his own time surpassed in extent and grandeur only by Augustus himself and perhaps equalled only by Agrippa. These building activities embraced not only his own realm but also a number of Eastern provinces²⁹, spreading his fame well beyond his kingdom. There is still much we do not know about this aspect of Herod's rule, including features fundamental to the present investigation. Chief among these is the question pertaining to the initiative and planning behind the buildings. A clear uniformity of design and purpose can be discerned, and it would be pleasing to know that it was indeed the king who in person stood behind the plans and execution of his projects. At any rate, if he had architects and artistic advisers responsible for his plans, we know nothing about them. It certainly is not a distortion caused by the survival of the archaeological evidence that fashions the image of Herod as a builder above all. Undeniably the massive investments in material and man-power³⁰ suggest that Herod must have taken considerable care over the planning and execution of his buildings

²⁸ Unfortunately R.D. SULLIVAN, *Near Eastern Royalty: 100-30 BC*, Toronto 1990, covers mostly an era prior to that discussed here. Basic background for our period is provided by F. MILLAR, *The Roman Near East, 31 BC-AD 337*, Cambridge (MA) 1994.

²⁹ P. RICHARDSON, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 174-202, provides a succinct survey, with a summary at p. 197-202, including a summary of benefactions outside Herod's realm at p. 201-202.

³⁰ A fine recent study by two civil engineers calculates the man-power needed for the construction of Herod's Temple, and on the whole reaffirms Josephus' figures: A. WARSZAWSKY – A. PERETZ, *Building the Temple Mount: Organization and Execution*, *Cathedra* 66 (1992), p. 3-46 (in Hebrew).

and that his building activity stood indeed very close to the top of his concerns. Nevertheless, certainty cannot be attained.

Fashions in art and architecture may possibly appear to some as less significant than the modelling of an army — especially, perhaps, the army of a king highly unpopular with large sections of the inhabitants of his realm, moreover sections already well known for their propensity for unrest and even rebellion. However, city planning and architecture should be viewed in the wider context of developments in the Hellenised East. The Roman influences on Herod's building program presently to be discussed can not be viewed in a void, especially so since of late several attempts have been made to evaluate the Roman impact on architecture in the East in the period under consideration³¹.

Indeed, contemporary Roman features in Herod's building schemes have been noticed from time to time³², though no comprehensive conclusions seem to have been drawn. Now, with considerable delay, the acts of a symposium devoted to Herodian archaeology³³ became available, in which most contributions independently underline the very same conclusions. Since no comprehensive inferences were offered in those acts³⁴, it seems to me appropriate to point out some of the main findings of these contributions and to bring them in line with the other features of Romanisation which have been observed in Herodian Judaea.

In a discussion of Herod's cities Henner von Hesberg³⁵ makes a central point that is well worth repeating. While in Hellenistic cities sanctuaries are, as a rule, either integrated in the urban layout or, in certain

³¹ S. MACREADY — F.H. THOMPSON (eds.), *Roman Architecture in the Greek World* (*The Society of Antiquaries of London, Occasional Papers*, 10), London 1987, and the comprehensive review by F.K. YEGÜL, *JRA* 4 (1991), p. 345-355; H. DODGE, *The Architectural Impact of Rome in the East*, in M. HENIG (ed.), *Architecture and Architectural Sculpture in the Roman Empire* (*Oxford University Committee for Archaeology*), Oxford 1990, p. 108-120.

³² See, e.g., E. NETZER — S. BEN-ARIEH, *Remains of an Opus Reticulatum Building in Jerusalem*, *IEJ* 33 (1983), p. 163-175, where it is suggested that the structure under consideration displays pronounced similarities with Augustus' mausoleum and may in fact have been the monument of Herod mentioned by Jos., *BJ* V 507.

³³ K. FITTSCHEN — G. FOERSTER (eds.), *Judaea and the Greco-Roman World in the Time of Herod in the Light of Archaeological Evidence* (*Abh. Ak. Wiss. Gött., Phil.-hist. Kl.*, 3. Folge 215), Göttingen 1996.

³⁴ But see the Editors' concise conclusion in their Foreword (p. 5): «the extent of Rome's influence on the artistic activities of this monarch was unexpected and was one of the surprises of the symposium».

³⁵ H. VON HESBERG, *The Significance of the Cities in the Kingdom of Herod*, in K. FITTSCHEN — G. FOERSTER, *op. cit.* (n. 33), p. 9-25.

cases, they are separated from their built-up areas, in Herodian Palestine, by contrast, sanctuary and city were separated in a way intended to emphasise the sanctuary in an unprecedented manner. Jerusalem, of course, with the Temple reconstructed and rebuilt by Herod on an impressive man-made platform is the prime example. A similar impression was made by the Temple of Augustus in Samaria-Sebaste and apparently by the Temple of Augustus and Roma in Caesarea. It is shown that such arrangements were constructed in other towns in Palestine as well as in adjacent areas, e.g. in Petra and Palmyra, though not elsewhere in the Hellenistic East, and the connexion of these concepts with contemporary Italian ones is demonstrated.

Ehud Netzer, one of the principal excavators of Herodian sites, effectively reminds us of Roman features in the various palaces of the King³⁶, which, on the whole, continued Hellenistic patterns and traditions — prominent among these a large number of bath-houses in the Roman style, often more than one at one location, at Herodium, Machaerus, Masada, Cypros and in Jericho. In the latter town Herod also built an amphitheatre, as we have seen, and among Roman architectural features the employment of *opus sectile* may be mentioned.

In a survey of Roman and Hellenistic elements in the architecture of Masada Gideon Foerster, one of the Editors and a member of Yadin's original team excavating the site³⁷, stresses the traditional features of the Western Palace, built in all probability before the battle of Actium, apparently the «event [which] signalled the beginning of the massive Roman involvement at Masada... as a result of the remarkably close relationship between Herod and his Roman overlords, particularly with Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa, Augustus' son-in-law» (p. 58). The main discussion is devoted to the contrast between the Roman and the Hellenistic features of the Northern Residential Palace, reaching the conclusion that «the art and architecture of Masada... preserve strong Hellenistic traditions of the East, blending them with a marked Roman influence» (p. 63). In fact these conclusions were set out in great detail in Foerster's volume of the Final Reports of the excavations³⁸, empha-

³⁶ E. NETZER, *The Palaces Built by Herod – A Research Update*, in K. FITTSCHEN – G. FOERSTER, *op. cit.* (n. 33), p. 27-54.

³⁷ G. FOERSTER, *Hellenistic and Roman Trends in the Herodian Architecture of Masada*, in K. FITTSCHEN – G. FOERSTER, *op. cit.* (n. 33), p. 55-72.

³⁸ G. FOERSTER, *Masada V. The Yigael Yadin Excavations 1963-1965. Final Reports. Art and Architecture*, Jerusalem 1995.

sising the affinities between certain features of the structure on Masada with those of contemporary Roman buildings such as the Casa di Augusto, the Casa di Livia and the Villa Romana della Farnesina. These affinities appertain not only to wall-painting and architectural elements but also to such general characteristics as the layout of the *Aussichtsterrasse* of the Northern Palace. It is suggested as the most plausible explanation for many of the similarities that the architect, and perhaps some of the master-craftsmen responsible for these features may have been brought from Italy.

The very same subject in the wider context of the various residences of Herod is broached by Reinhard Förtsch³⁹. The conclusions here are very similar, and the more cogent because of the general application in what appears to be a building program covering the entire realm during a long period of time. However, here too the main problem of method, raised also by Foerster, is evident. Since many of the so-called Roman elements here under discussion originated under Hellenistic influences, it is of course sometimes extremely difficult to tell whether certain architectural or artistic components arrived directly from the Hellenistic East or rather by way of Italy. Still, some constituents of Herod's residences such as the typically Roman atrium at Upper Herodium (p. 78-79) or the 'vestibula' at Masada cannot be reduced to Hellenistic factors.

Silvia Rozenberg's survey of the wall paintings at Jericho⁴⁰ parallels the conclusions of Foerster with regard to late First Style and mainly Second Style influences as at Masada, adds however a technical element of some importance. The chemical analysis of bowls of pigments used for the wall-paintings and discovered in the excavations by Netzer (the very same colours were used also at other Herodian sites) not only agree with the recommendations of Pliny the Elder and Vitruvius, but at least one pigment contains an element (mercury) not found in Palestine and thus certainly imported from abroad. This adds significant support to the hypothesis of Italian craftsmen and materials employed by Herod.

Finally, Klaus Fittschen's detailed examination of Herodian wall decoration⁴¹ is of special interest, since upon first-hand consideration of

³⁹ R. FÖRTSCH, *The Residences of King Herod and their Relations to Roman Villa Architecture*, in K. FITTSCHEN – G. FOERSTER, *op. cit.* (n. 33), p. 74-119.

⁴⁰ S. ROZENBERG, *The Wall Paintings of the Herodian Palace at Jericho*, in K. FITTSCHEN – G. FOERSTER, *op. cit.* (n. 33), p. 121-138.

⁴¹ K. FITTSCHEN, *Wall Decorations in Herod's Kingdom: Their Relationship with Wall Decorations in Greece and Italy*, in K. FITTSCHEN – G. FOERSTER, *op. cit.* (n. 33), p. 139-161.

the entire available evidence the author came to modify his earlier view. He now holds that the Herodian examples of Second Style wall paintings are «to a great extent dependent on western, Italic, prototypes» (p. 140) though he also detects differences due to Hellenistic traditions, instrumental in the development of a local style. This dependence on contemporary, mostly Late Second or Early Third Style models is a sure measure of the extent of the influence of the latest Italian fashions in Judaea.

These conclusions often rest on, or refer to, earlier research in which observations of Roman influences on Herodian architecture have been made. The recounting here of some of these influences is not, and does not attempt to be comprehensive. It is rather the paradigmatic nature of these impressions that is at stake here. Many of the Roman influences cannot be attributed merely to practical considerations and must be laid at the door of an ideological decision as to the place of the client kingdom in the Augustan Empire. Similar considerations must have influenced the next item we shall discuss — incidentally the item that set off the train of reflections presented here.

III

Studying the inscribed jars of the Herodian period from Masada⁴² it became immediately clear that the King imported a variety of luxury products from Italy, some of them like fine wines in preference to nearer and probably more obvious provenances (Greece), no doubt as part of a practice of conspicuous consumption planned to impress his Roman patrons and friends. It is worth the while briefly to recount these luxury items. Wines seem to have been the most important article on the list. They included, in all probability, at least three shipments, of 27/26, 19 and 14 BC⁴³, and such well-known varieties as Amineum⁴⁴, Massicum

⁴² H.M. COTTON – J. GEIGER, *op. cit.* (n. 6), nos. 795-850; *ibid.*, *The Economic Importance of Herod's Masada: The Evidence of the Jar Inscriptions*, in K. FITTSCHEN – G. FOERSTER, *op. cit.* (n. 33), p. 163-170; *ibid.*, *Wine for King Herod*, *Cathedra* 53 (1989), p. 3-12 (in Hebrew).

⁴³ H.M. COTTON – J. GEIGER, *op. cit.* (n. 6), nos. 795-799, 804-817 and 818, respectively.

⁴⁴ Our reading of nos. 796, 797 as *AM(ineum)* has been vindicated by B. LIOU, *Inscriptions peintes sur amphores: Fos (suite), Marseille, Toulon, Port-la-Nautique, Arles, Saint-Marie-sur-de-Cran, Macon, Calvi, Archeonautica* 7 (1987), p. 55-139.

excellens⁴⁵, perhaps Caecubum⁴⁶ as well as wine from Tarentum (no. 818), v(inum) or v(etus) amphorarium⁴⁷ and the hitherto unattested Philonianum (nos. 804-816), some of it, at least, from the vineyard of L. Laenius. The inscriptions on this last group also include a statement that the wine was intended for, or belonged to, Herod, King of the Jews⁴⁸, important evidence linking the king, or his agents, to activities in Southern Italy. Italian imports⁴⁹ accounted for the table, as well as the cellar, of Herod: apples from Cumae⁵⁰, Italian honey⁵¹, and either mu(lsum) or mu(ries), mu(ria)⁵². This impressive list included items that may be explained only as items of conspicuous consumption: ancient Palestine was certainly not deficient in apples or honey, though we are perhaps not in a position to appreciate their, and of courses the wines', quality compared to their Italian counterparts.

The often unpretentious detail should not conceal from us the significance of all these features — a highly-placed Roman friend of Herod visiting, say, Masada⁵³ could hardly fail to notice the soldiers on guard equipped and commanded in the Roman manner, Roman-style bath-houses and other architectural and artistic features as well as luxury imports from Italy. What, then, did all this signify?

⁴⁵ H.M. COTTON – J. GEIGER, *op. cit.* (n. 6), no. 819; here, too, our reading has been confirmed by B. LIOU, *art. cit.* (n. 44).

⁴⁶ H.M. COTTON – J. GEIGER, *op. cit.* (n. 6), nos. 832, 836.

⁴⁷ H.M. COTTON – J. GEIGER, *op. cit.* (n. 6), no. 817.

⁴⁸ The various fragmentary inscriptions in the third and last line of H.M. COTTON – J. GEIGER, *op. cit.* (n. 6), nos. 804-816, were expanded by us to *regi Herodi Iudaico*; on a new and as yet unpublished fragment *Herodis* may be clearly read, so that we may have to modify our previous readings.

⁴⁹ But not only Italian; the *garum* contained in H.M. COTTON – J. GEIGER, *op. cit.* (n. 6), no. 816, seems to have come from Spain: H. COTTON – O. LERNAU – Y. GOREN, *Fish Sauces from Herodian Masada*, *JRA* 9 (1996), p. 223-238.

⁵⁰ H.M. COTTON – J. GEIGER, *op. cit.* (n. 6), no. 822.

⁵¹ H.M. COTTON – J. GEIGER, *op. cit.* (n. 6), no. 800.

⁵² H.M. COTTON – J. GEIGER, *op. cit.* (n. 6), no. 821; *muria* (*muries*), if this is the correct expansion, may also have come from Spain, cf. n. 49.

⁵³ In fact we do not have certain evidence for Herod's own sojourns, if any, on Masada after the stormy first years of his reign — but, then, Josephus had no reason to mention routine visits to one or the other of the king's fortresses and palaces. Among visits of Roman dignitaries in Judaea that of Agrippa in 15 (cf. E. SCHÜRER – G. VERMES – F. MILLAR, *op. cit.* I (n. 16), p. 292) is well attested, with calls at Herod's new foundations of Caesarea and Sebaste and the fortresses Alexandrion, Herodion and Hyrcania and, of course, Jerusalem (Jos., *AJ* XVI 13; cf. Philo, *leg.* 294-297). Masada is conspicuously absent from this list: it would be easy, but idle, to speculate.

IV

Many more inferences, of disparate probabilities, could be made as to Roman influences on Herod⁵⁴. In a profound discussion of Herod's economy, E. Gabba⁵⁵ arrived at the conclusion that «in his economic policies, Herod followed the examples set by Rome and Augustus». Elsewhere it has been suggested⁵⁶ that the disappearance of women from holding political positions under Herod's heirs may reflect their status in Roman politics and is in contrast to Hasmonaean times, when women could, after Hellenistic fashion, ascend the throne. Another, more positive point concerning Herod's family was the education of the royal princes in Rome⁵⁷. The education of Alexander and Aristobulus, as well as of a third son of Herod by the Hasmonaean Mariamme, in Rome, where they stayed with, it seems, Asinius Pollio, with one of the tutors conceivably a Roman⁵⁸ must have had profound effects not only on them, but also on the entire royal household. We are told⁵⁹ that Charops of Epirus had been sent to Rome with the express purpose of learning to speak and to write Latin: it seems inconceivable that Herod's sons, probably brought up bilingual, would not avail themselves of an opportunity — perhaps in this period already self-evident and thus not mentioned — to be in a position of gaining deeper insights into the workings of Roman government by acquiring the language of the rulers of the empire⁶⁰. Five more of Herod's sons were at one time or another in Rome, to be educated and/or introduced to Augustus, presum-

⁵⁴ Cf. D. BRAUND, *op. cit.* (n. 9), p. 184-185.

⁵⁵ E. GABBA, *The Finances of King Herod*, in A. KASHER — U. RAPPAPORT — G. FUKS (eds.), *Greece and Rome in Eretz Israel*, Jerusalem 1990, p. 168.

⁵⁶ T. ILAN, *Jewish Women in Greco-Roman Palestine. An Inquiry into Image and Status*, Tübingen 1995, p. 175.

⁵⁷ On the education of client-kings and princes in Rome see D. BRAUND, *op. cit.* (n. 9), p. 9-21.

⁵⁸ Jos., *AJ* XV 342-343; the educators of Mariamme's sons were Andromachus and Gemellus (*ibid.* XVI 242-243). The second name points with great probability, though not certainty, to a Roman, cf. A. SCHALIT, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 414 n. 936. It seems that they were educated in the house of Asinius Pollio: L.H. FELDMAN, *Asinius Pollio and his Jewish Interests*, *TAPhA* 84 (1953), p. 73-80; *id.*, *Asinius Pollio and Herod's Sons*, *CQ* 35 (1985), p. 240-242; *contra* D. BRAUND, *Four Notes on the Herods*, *CQ* 33 (1983), p. 239-242.

⁵⁹ Polyb. XXVII 15.4-5.

⁶⁰ An example of a native of Palestine who learned Latin in Rome, though this was evidently not the purpose of his sojourn, is Justin Martyr. A native of Flavia Neapolis, he preached in Rome and was eventually martyred there. He quotes in his *Apology* the Latin inscription on the statue of Simon Magus on the Tiber island (I 26.2), and at the end of its first book he appears to have brought the original text of Hadrian's letter to Minucius Fundanus, though our texts now have the Greek translation. Justin, *apol.* I 68, says to

ably on similar terms to their half-brothers⁶¹. One can only guess at the interrelations between this Roman education and the visible signs of Roman influence discussed above. It is perhaps a measure of the Herodian dynasty's, like that of other client-kings', integration in Roman society that the fact of their Roman citizenship is barely referred to, and seems to be taken for granted — as it is, later, with many provincial aristocrats⁶².

A comprehensive treatment of client-kingship⁶³ acknowledges the devising of a conceptual construct, intent on describing the features common to all or most rulers. It is merely the accident of the work of Josephus and of its survival that makes Herod the best-known by far of all client-kings and that denies us the opportunity of comparing him on equal terms with other representatives of his class. But differences must have been considerable. If the Emperor was what he did⁶⁴ — so was, *mutatis mutandis*, the client-king (and, it has been noted⁶⁵, the provincial governor). It must have been the individual client-king's zeal, but also his power and energy and, last but not least, his ingenuity that determined the degree to which he followed what he believed to be his leader's cue. Herod was definitely the peer, at least, of other client-kings of his time in his ardent loyalty to Rome and her First Citizen, and he almost certainly exceeded most of them both in his capability and in his imagination⁶⁶.

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bring the *antigraphon* of the letter; Eus., *HE* IV 8.7, assures that Justin quoted the Latin text, which was translated by Eusebius «according to his abilities» (κατὰ δύναμιν). Possibly the translation by Eusebius was substituted in our text of Justin; the Latin in Rufinus' parallel passage may well have been the original.

⁶¹ Antipater, the eldest son, came for purely political purposes, and not for education, see Jos., *AJ* XVII 52-53; *BJ* I 573. Archelaus and Philip educated at Rome: *AJ* XVII 80; *BJ* I 602-603; Antipas and Herod: *AJ* XVII 20-21; cf. H.W. HOEHNER, *Herod Antipas*, Cambridge 1972, p. 12-14. Claudius' permission to Agrippa I and his brother Herod of Chalcis to address the Senate in Greek (Dio LX 8.2) does not necessarily prove their ignorance of Latin, though it very well may imply their incomplete mastery of the language.

⁶² For the grant of citizenship and *ateleia* to Antipater see Jos., *AJ* XIV 136-137, *BJ* I 194; The *tria nomina* (he was C. or M.) are attested for Agrippa I on an Athenian dedication to his daughter Julia Berenice (*OGIS* 428); Agrippa II was M. Julius Agrippa, see E. SCHÜRER — G. VERMES — F. MILLAR, *op. cit.* I (n. 16), p. 471; *PIR*² I 132; cf., in general, A.N. SHERWIN-WHITE, *The Roman Citizenship*, Oxford 1973², p. 178.

⁶³ D. BRAUND, *op. cit.* (n. 9), p. 6.

⁶⁴ F. MILLAR, *The Emperor in the Roman World*, London 1977, p. xi.

⁶⁵ J. GEIGER, *Titulus Crucis*, *SCI* 15 (1966), p. 205.

⁶⁶ Unfortunately D.W. ROLLER, *The Building Program of Herod the Great*, Berkeley-Los Angeles 1997, is not yet available to me when reading the proofs of this article.

THE NARBONENSIAN COLONIAL ELITE – 1958-1995*

Sed ne provinciales quidem, si modo
ornare curiam poterint, reiciendos puto.
(Claudius, *Tabula Lugdunensis*, col. II 8-9)

INTRODUCTION

«In all ages, whatever the form and name of government, be it monarchy, republic, or democracy, an oligarchy lurks behind the façade; and Roman history, Republican or Imperial, is the history of the governing class»¹. The composition and working of this ‘governing class’ might be called the central theme of Syme’s work². The ‘Roman revolution’, a

* I have been greatly helped in writing this article by Prof. F.G.B. Millar, who, needless to say, is not to be blamed for errors and inaccuracies which remain in the text.

Journal sigla are those of *L'Année philologique*. The abbreviations used for the sources are those of *Der kleine Pauly*.

GC = the collection of sources by A.H.J. GREENIDGE & A.M. CLAY, *Sources for Roman History 133-70 BC*, Oxford 1986².

EJ = V. EHRENBERG & A.H.M. JONES, *Documents Illustrating the Reigns of Augustus and Tiberius*, Oxford 1983².

¹ R. SYME, *The Roman Revolution* [hereafter *RR*], Oxford 1939, p. vii: «The subject of this book is the transformation of state and society at Rome between 60 B.C. and A.D. 14. (...) The period witnessed a violent transference of power and of property; and the Principate of Augustus should be regarded as the consolidation of the revolutionary process. Emphasis is laid, however, not upon the personality and acts of Augustus, but upon his adherents and partisans. The composition of the oligarchy of government therefore emerges as the dominant theme of political history, as the binding link between the Republic and the Empire: it is something real and tangible, whatever be the name or theory of the constitution». Cf. ID., *Tacitus*, Oxford 1958, p. v: «Oligarchy is the supreme, central, and enduring theme in Roman history. Across the revolutionary age it links the aristocratic Republic to the monarchy of the Caesars; and the process of change in the governing order has its sequel in the century between Caesar Augustus and Trajan»; p. 550: «More important than the name or fabric of the Commonwealth, than the system of laws and institutions, are ‘mores virique’» and p. 585: «The true continuity, however, is not discovered in the Roman constitution. It resides in the governing class».

² Cf. R. SYME, *RR*, p. 307: «Naked despotism is vulnerable. The *imperator* could depend upon the plebs and the army. But he could not rule without the help of an oligarchy»; p. 325: «It is an entertaining pursuit to speculate upon the subtleties of legal theory, or to trace from age to age the transmission of perennial maxims of political wisdom; it is more instructive to discover, in any time and under any system of government, the identity of the agents and ministers of power»; p. 346: «A democracy cannot rule an empire. Neither can one man, though empire may appear to presuppose monarchy. There

term coined and defined by Syme, worked itself out in two stages: first, the violent transference of power and of property between 60 BC and AD 14; then, the gradual extinction and replacement of the Republican and Augustan senatorial aristocracy of Roman and native Italic stock by an ambitious provincial elite originating from the most romanized western provinces, a process well under way by the end of the Julio-Claudian period and consummated during the rule of the Flavians and the Antonines. In Syme's view the Julio-Claudian dynasty was «an aristocratic faction, annexing certain of the great houses through congenial matrimony, resplendent and ominous. They went down in ruin together»³. «Ambition, display and dissipation, or more simply an incapacity to adopt the meaner virtues and ignoble devices that brought success in a changed and completely plutocratic order of society, steadily reduced the fortunes of the *nobiles*. Frugal and astute men of property from the newer parts of Italy and the civilized regions of the West prospered in their place», Syme claims (cf. Tac., *ann.* III 55, on the change in the moral climate)⁴. Talent and industry, money and education, and the

is always an oligarchy somewhere, open or concealed»; ID., *Tacitus*, p. 585: «The true continuity, however, is not discovered in the Roman constitution. It resides in the governing class»; ID., *Colonial Élités* [hereafter *CE*], Oxford 1958, p. 3: «A structure can turn out to be only a façade. What is behind it? The principles of government may appear firm, enlightened and sagacious. Are they always put into effect? The thing that matters is not the structure, and not the principles, but the men, those who are selected to carry the burden of administration: if you like, the oligarchy of government»; p. 52: «In all ages of history it is desirable to get away from generalizations and study individuals and families. The present argument is concentrated on the higher ranks of society, neglecting the lower, because most is known about them -and, indeed, because they have the greatest freedom of action»; ID., *The Augustan Aristocracy* [hereafter *AA*], Oxford 1986, p. 13: «Oligarchy is imposed as the guiding theme, the link from age to age whatever be the form and the name of government».

³ R. SYME, *AA*, p. 11. Cf. ID., *RR*, esp. ch. xxxii «The Doom of the *Nobiles*», p. 493: «The families of the Julii, the Aemilii, the Antonii and the Domitii perpetuated their compacts and their feuds over the body of the dying Republic and under the shadow of the Monarchy»; p. 495: «As time went on, the Julii, the Antonii and the Claudii met and mingled in their successors»; p. 499: «With the end of the Julio-Claudian dynasty, the Augustan as well as the Republican nobility seemed to have run its course»; and ID., *Tacitus*, p. 562: «Preoccupation with the fate of noble Roman families does not have to be excused in an historian. If the old names appealed to sentiment and memory, they were also the substance of Roman annals, continuous from the Republic to the monarchy of the Caesars. The *nobiles* survived the ordeal of the civil wars but were involved with the dynasty (itself an aristocratic faction) and brought down by it in parallel degeneration to a common and final catastrophe».

⁴ R. SYME, *RR*, p. 501; cf. p. 505: «The *nobiles* were pushed aside from power, stripped of their estates and steadily thinned by a progressive proscription. As under the Republic, the normal method for an ambitious man to secure distinction and advancement

patronage of influential men of the old elite brought the provincials to the forefront. In the end they came to replace the Caesars: «They began as clients of the Caesars and they end by supplanting them». The ‘Hispano-Narbonensian group’ that underlay the principates of the emperors Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius and Commodus, embodied the ‘triumph of the provincials’⁵.

This process of change in the composition of the Roman oligarchy was hinted at and outlined in Syme’s major works: *The Roman Revolution* (1939) and *Tacitus* (1958); in *Colonial Élites* (1958) he traced, in brief compass, «the origin, composition and behaviour» of the Spanish Romans, comparing their role in the empire to that of the part played by the Spanish and English American colonial élites in their respective empires.

It is the purpose of this article to see what new evidence has come to light since 1958 to further substantiate Syme’s claim that «Rome lived on imported talent»⁶. Considering the scope of the article it seems best to focus on one of the areas outside Italy that first produced new senators and *equites*: Gallia Narbonensis. In the first section I shall summarize the early history of the province. The second consists of two parts: first, I will recapitulate the evidence for senators and knights from Narbonensis available in 1958, and then I shall present the evidence that has been recovered since the publication of *Tacitus* and *Colonial Élites*.

was through the conduct of a successful prosecution. (...) The Senate became a high court of justice and the Princeps’ own jurisdiction developed; high treason was a flexible and comprehensive offence. Whether in the Senate or elsewhere, the prosecutor was tempted to allege *maiestas* as the main count or as a subsidiary charge; and the jury were afraid to absolve».

⁵ R. SYME, *Tacitus*, p. 584: «the triumph of the provincial Romans»; p. 587-588; in general chs. XLIII «The Rise of the Provincials», p. 585-597, and XLIV «The Antecedents of Emperors», p. 598-610. See also *Tacitus*, p. 13, on the Spanish Romans: «Before many years had passed the Roman provinces were swept into the whirlpool of Roman civil war. Active individuals espoused various causes in turn and duly ended on the right side, the *clientela* of Pompeius passing to Caesar and Caesar Augustus. Hence they are concerned in the foundation of the centralized government under which they prosper by gliding into good positions. They migrate to the capital in permanence; they purchase mansions at Rome, villas and estates in the fashionable vicinity; they invade the high strata of society; they contract marriage alliances with Italian families, and even with the old Roman aristocracy; and also, and naturally, with similar groups of rising families from other provinces, such as Narbonensis. They began as clients of the Caesars and they end by supplanting them. Such in outline is the class of the new Romans, alert, energetic and highly successful».

⁶ R. SYME, *AA*, p. 11. Cf. *ID.*, *CE*, p. 4: «The strength and vitality of an empire is frequently due to the new aristocracy from the periphery».

1. GALLIA NARBONENSIS

The area that, probably around 120 BC, would be incorporated in the Roman *imperium* as the *provincia* Gallia Narbonensis was geographically-speaking a Mediterranean land: climate and soil were similar to those of Italy and the coastal regions of Spain. This made the land attractive to prospective colonists from Greece and at a later date from the Roman heartland. Early contacts with Greek traders and settlers in particular (the Phocaean colony of Massilia had already been founded round about the year 600 BC [Strab. IV 1.4-5; Plin., *nat.* III 34]), had «conditioned» the indigenous population «to a Mediterranean way of life». The first official diplomatic contact with Rome was established at the eve of the Second Punic War in 218 BC (Liv. XVIII 1.1; XIX 6-20.9) ⁷.

Roughly a hundred years later the area was annexed, possibly to contain the powerful Gallic tribe of the Arverni to the northwest and to link Rome's Spanish possessions to Italy, although less honourable motives such as the hunger for military success on the part of the Roman elite and economic gain — here taken in the broadest sense — might have played an important part too (cf. Strab. IV 1.2: χώρα εὐδαιμονεστάτη)⁸. The province seems to have been constituted in the aftermath of two major battles, the second of which took place on 8 August 121 BC: Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus (*cos.* 122 BC) and Q. Fabius Maximus (*cos.* 121 BC)

⁷ C. JULLIAN, *Histoire de la Gaule* V, Paris 1920, p. 10: «...un sol d'attraction, une terre d'immigrants»; in general p. 10-16; also vol. VI, Paris 1920, p. 360-361: «De Toulouse à Vienne, de Vienne à Nice, c'est un amphithéâtre de terrasses et de plaines, d'où trente villes et mille bourgades regardent vers la Méditerranée, l'Italie et la Grèce, pour recevoir leurs souffles et s'inspirer de leurs leçons. Les hommes n'ont fait que suivre l'exemple du pays. Il s'est couvert de vignes et d'oliviers, il a pris modèle sur l'Attique ou la Campanie. Son sol a les mêmes richesses que ces terres bénies de la Grèce et de l'Italie; son soleil a la même force, sa vie la même gaieté. Ici, disait un Ancien en entrant dans la Narbonnaise, nous sommes encore en Italie: devant ces belles villes qui se serrent l'une près de l'autre, ces hommes aimables et lettrés, cette nature qui sourit, on se sent près de Rome, et nul ne se croit en province». Cf. E.C. SEMPLE, *The Geography of the Mediterranean Region*, London 1932, p. 237-255; J.J. HATT, *Histoire de la Gaule*, Paris 1959, p. 19; and A.L.F. RIVET, *Gallia Narbonensis. Southern France in Roman Times*, London 1988, p. 3, 9, and 17.

On Massilia: C. JULLIAN, *op. cit.* I, 1909², p. 193-226, 383-443, and 518-524; A.L.F. RIVET, *op. cit.*, p. 219-225.

⁸ C. JULLIAN, *op. cit.* III, 1909, p. 23. J.J. HATT, *op. cit.*, p. 37. H.-G. PFLAUM, *Les fastes de la province de Narbonnaise (Gallia, Suppl. 30) [hereafter Fastes]*, Paris 1978, p. IX-X. W.V. HARRIS, *War and Imperialism in Republican Rome. 327-70 BC*, Oxford 1979, p. 9-53, ch. 1 «Roman Attitudes towards War»; see further esp. p. 68-104, par. 3 «During the Rise to World Power, 219-70 B.C.»

defeated the tribes of the Arverni and the Allobroges, leaving Rome in direct control of the region (GC 47-49)⁹. The first Roman road in the province, the *via Domitia* — running from the Rhône, probably at Beaucaire, to the Col du Perthus in the Pyrenees — not only established a direct connection between Italy and Spain, but seems also to have served as a *limes* linking up a string of fortified towns and military stations. It was under construction from 120 BC onwards (GC 49)¹⁰. In 118 BC the second Roman colony outside Italy was founded in Gaul: Narbo Martius Decumanorum (Vell. I 15.5 and II 7.8: *prima autem extra Italiam colonia Carthago condita est. Subinde Porcio Marcioque consulibus deducta colonia Narbo Martius*; Eutr. IV 23; GC 53-54, 285). As the name suggests, soldiers of the tenth legion were settled here (Plin., *nat.* III 32). In the late Republic another five *coloniae Romanae* would be established in Narbonensis: Arelate (Arles) and Valentia (Valence) both founded by Tiberius Claudius Nero in 46 BC (Suet., *Tib.* 4.1; cf. Plin., *nat.* III 36), Baeterrae (Béziers) established in 36/5 BC; Arausio (Orange) established in 35 BC (?); Forum Iulii (Fréjus) settled in 35 or 27 BC; and Vienna (Vienne) which probably was first constituted as a *colonia Latina* and was then upgraded to a *colonia Romana* (43 BC?)¹¹.

⁹ C. JULLIAN, *op. cit.* III, 1909, p. 14-24, p. 20: «Les victoires sur les Celtes de la Provence et du Dauphiné et la défaite de Bituit faisaient des Romains les maîtres du Midi, et rejetaient les Arvernes au nord des Cévennes. On décida qu'une province serait constituée au sud de ces montagnes».

J.J. HATT, *op. cit.*, p. 39-40, «L'œuvre de Domitius».

A.L.F. RIVET, *op. cit.*, p. 47: «The traditional view, still widely held, is that the province was established by Domitius when he remained in Gaul after the defeat of the *Arverni* and *Allobroges* — that is, about 120 BC. This has, however, been strongly challenged by Badian...»; p. 48: «In summary, then, it is impossible to reach a definite conclusion as to the specific date at which our province was formed...»

¹⁰ Cf. Cicero, *Font.* 17: *Obiectum est etiam quaestum M. Fonteium ex viarum munitione fecisse, ut aut ne cogeret munire aut id, quod munitum esset, ne improbaret. Si et coacti sunt munire omnes et multorum opera improbata sunt, certe utrumque falsum est, et ob vacationem pretium datum, cum immunis nemo fuerit, et ob probationem, cum multa improbata sint. (...) [18] Cum maioribus rei publicae negotiis M. Fonteius impediretur, et cum ad rem publicam pertineret viam Domitiam muniri, legatis suis, primariis viris, C. Annio Bellieno et C. Fonteio, negotium dedit; itaque praefuerunt; imperaverunt pro dignitate sua, quod visum est, et probaverunt... Work on the *via Domitia* was apparently still going on during the proconsulate of M. Fonteius which should be placed roundabout 75 BC. Cicero's speech was delivered some time after 70 BC.*

¹¹ C. JULLIAN, *op. cit.* VI, 1920, p. 348-353, Narbonne; p. 319-325, Arles; p. 326-327, Valence; p. 347-348, Béziers; p. 326 Orange; p. 305-308, Fréjus; p. 330-335, Vienne. A.L.F. RIVET, *op. cit.*, p. 130-148, Narbo Martius; p. 190-211, Arelate; p. 300-304, Valentia; p. 149-159, Baeterrae; p. 272-276, Arausio; p. 226-238, Forum Iulii; p. 305-331, Vienna. For a list of the *coloniae Latinae* and the *civitates Foederatae* see *id.*, p. 80.

Cicero's speech on behalf of M. Fonteius, a former proconsul of Gallia Narbonensis who was charged with corruption after finishing his tenure as governor (76-74 BC?), was delivered some time after 70 BC; it contains a number of interesting observations in regard to the integration of the province into the Roman *imperium*. According to Cicero:

referta Gallia negotiatorum est, plena civium Romanorum. nemo Gallorum sine cive Romano quicquam negotii gerit, nummus in Gallia nullus sine civium Romanorum tabulis commovetur (*Font.* 11).

Again in chapter 13 he refers to *numerus civium Romanorum atque hominum honestissimorum*. Of course it was in the interest of his client to claim that there were so many Roman citizens in Narbonensis that nothing could be done without one of them finding out about possible malpractices of the proconsul. Still, Cicero would not have been able to use this argument, if the number of Roman citizens and traders had not been considerable at this time. Cicero lists *negotiatores, coloni, publicani, aratores*, and *pecuarii* (*Font.* 12), this in combination with a passage from *pro Quinctio* (12: *erat ei* [viz. C. Quinctius] *pecuaria res ampla et rustica sane bene culta et fructuosa*), a speech delivered in 81 BC, proves that it was not only businessmen and tax-farmers who had poured into the province, but also colonists, farmers, and cattle-breeders; in other words, Romans were settling in Gallia Narbonensis. Under Claudius, senators were permitted to visit Sicily and Narbonensis in order to inspect their estates without obtaining special leave (*Tac., ann.* XII 23; cf. *Cass. Dio* LII 42.6-7). This implies that many senators must have owned property in the province, it does, however, not necessarily imply that these senators derived from Narbonensis.

By the time of Strabo, if we may believe the Augustan geographer, the native population must to a large extent have been won over to the Graeco-Roman way of life, that is diligently working the land and living in urban surroundings¹²:

on account of the superiority (ἐπικράτεια) of the Romans, the barbarians who are situated beyond the Massiliotes became more and more subdued as time went on, and instead of carrying on war have already turned to civic life (πολιτεία) and agriculture (γεωργία) (*IV* 1.5).

¹² Cf. *Cass. Dio* XLIV 42.4 (Antony's speech at Caesar's funeral): «So now Gaul is enslaved, which sent against us the Ambrones and the Cimbri, and is all under cultivation like Italy itself...»

Massilia had become a centre of learning that was attractive even to the Roman elite:

Their (*sc.* Massiliotes) present state of life makes this clear; for all the men of culture turn to the art of speaking and the study of philosophy; so that the city, although a short time ago it was given over as merely a training-school for the barbarians and was schooling the Gauls to be fond enough of the Greeks to write even their contracts in Greek, at the present time has attracted also the most notable of the Romans, if eager for knowledge, to go to school there instead of making their foreign sojourn at Athens (*loc. cit.*).

About the Gallic tribes in the region of Avignon and Aix Strabo remarks:

the Volcae border on the Rhône, with the Sallyes and also the Cavari stretching along parallel to them on the opposite side of the river, the name of the Cavari prevails, and people are already calling by that name all the barbarians in that part of the country — no, they are no longer barbarians, but are, for the most part, transformed to the type of the Romans (τύπος Ῥωμαίων), both in their speech and in their modes of living, and some of them in their civic life (πολιτεία) as well (IV 1.12).

When discussing the tribe that had Tolosa (Toulouse) as its urban centre the geographer notes:

at present, when being at leisure from the weapons of war, the people are tilling the country diligently, and are devising for themselves modes of life that are civil (πολιτικός) (IV 1.14).

Less than a century later Pliny the Elder felt confident enough to describe Narbonensis as all but equal to Italy itself

agrorum cultu, virorum morumque dignatione, amplitudine opum nulli provinciarum postferenda breviterque Italia verius quam provincia (nat. III 31)¹³.

¹³ Cf. A.L.F. RIVET, *op. cit.*, p. 84: «The prosperity of *Narbonensis* in the early imperial period is already implied by Pomponius Mela, who lists as its *urbes opulentissimae* Vaison, Vienne, Avignon, Nîmes, Toulouse, Orange, Arles and Béziers. But more informative is Pliny the Elder who, some 35 years later, says of it *agrorum cultu, virorum morumque dignatione, amplitudine opum, nulli provinciarum postferenda breviterque Italia verius quam provincia*, and later refers to its wheat, to several of its wines, to fishing and to one kind of wool»; p. 84: «Agriculture (...) was not the only source of wealth.... extensive mining of iron, copper, lead and silver took place in a number of districts...»; p. 85: «... the richness of the province is well illustrated by buildings».

Archaeological evidence confirms the picture of steady and thorough Romanization drawn by Strabo and Pliny. Major building activity started in the late first century BC with the foundation of the colonies of Arles, Valence (both in 46 BC), Béziers (36/5 BC), Orange (35 BC(?)), and Fréjus (35 or 27 BC), and the development of local towns like Vaison-la-Romaine, Vienne, Marseilles and St. Rémy. Roman influence on Gaulish architecture has been characterized by Sear as «strong and direct», and according to Ward-Perkins «some of the finest of the surviving monuments of the Early Empire are to be found in Provence and in the immediately adjoining districts of central and southern Gaul»¹⁴.

Judging the presence of the army as no longer necessary, Augustus restored Gallia Narbonensis to the people in 22 BC (Cass. Dio LIV 4.1). The naval-station at Forum Iulii remained in use throughout the Julio-Claudian period (Strab. IV 1.9; Tac., *ann.* IV 5; cf. *CIL* XII 257 = *ILS* 2822; *CIL* XII 258; *CIL* XII 5736 = *ILS* 2830)¹⁵. The fact that the *provincia* was handed over, is another indicator that the area was considered to be thoroughly pacified. From now on the province was governed by a *proconsul* of praetorian rank, who was selected by lot, and resided in Narbonne. We know the names of six Julio-Claudian governors: Cn. Pullius Pollio (18-16 BC), Titedius Labeo (AD 12-15), M'. Vibius Balbinus (AD 15-17), Torquatus Novellius Atticus (AD 30-34), T. Mussidius Pollianus (AD 34-37), and T. Vinus Rufinus (AD 54-60). The relative obscurity of these *proconsules* suggests that the governorship of Gallia Narbonensis was a post of second rate importance¹⁶. The *proconsul* was assisted by a *legatus* and a *quaestor*¹⁷. *Procuratores Augusti* looked after the imperial interests in the province¹⁸. All through the Julio-Claudian period Narbonensis enjoyed peace.

¹⁴ J.B. WARD-PERKINS, *Roman Imperial Architecture*, New Haven-London 1994, p. 219-246; F. SEAR, *Roman Architecture*, London 1989², p. 213-219.

¹⁵ Ch.G. STARR, *The Roman Imperial Navy. 31 BC – AD 324*, Cambridge 1941, p. 12-13, on the naval station at Fréjus.

¹⁶ H.-G. PFLAUM, *Fastes*, p. 3-13: sources and commentary; p.47-57 «Le proconsulat en Narbonnaise»: origin, background and career of the *proconsules*. Cf. S. DEMOUGIN, *Prosopographie des chevaliers romains Julio-Claudiens*, Rome 1992, no. 230, on Titedius Labeo.

¹⁷ H.-G. PFLAUM, *Fastes*, p. 5-6, 59 and 72: Torquatus Novellius Atticus (before 30-34): the single known Julio-Claudian *legatus pro praetore* (Plin., *nat.* XIV 144, 146; *CIL* XIV 3602 = *ILS* 950).

H.-G. PFLAUM, *Fastes*, p. 79 and 91: Q. Trebellius Catulus (35-50): the single known Julio-Claudian *quaestor pro praetore* (*CIL* VI 31771).

¹⁸ H.-G. PFLAUM, *Fastes*, p. 109-111, two Julio-Claudian *procuratores* are known: Vitrasius Pollio (Tiberian; cf. S. DEMOUGIN, *Prosopographie* [n. 16], no. 277); and M. Hordeonius (circa 27-30; *id.*, no. 270).

2. SENATORS AND KNIGHTS FROM NARBONENSIS

In the quickly romanized province of Narbonensis a new local elite developed, consisting of the more successful Roman and Italic settlers and the indigenous elite, of which many members had acquired Roman citizenship at an early stage. The citizenship, according to Brunt, «symbolized, rewarded and fortified the loyalty of the magnates» and «also prepared the way for the final step in Romanization: their admission to a share in imperial government, which removed the distinction between rulers and subjects»¹⁹.

That the Roman citizenship was granted already during the first decades of the occupation has been confirmed by the study of Narbonensian *gentilicia*. The list compiled by Syme in 1958 reveals that the most common *gentilicia* are: Valerius, Cornelius, Pompeius, Licinius, Attius, Domitius, Aemilius, and Cassius. Valerius can be connected to C. Valerius Flaccus (*procos.* ca. 82 BC), Pompeius to Cn. Pompeius Magnus (*cos.* 70, 55, 52), and Domitius to Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus (*cos.* 122 BC; *procos.*). Syme assumes that by the time that Julius Caesar became proconsul of Gaul (59 BC) the families of the chieftains were mostly in possession of the citizenship. The Gauls who reached the senate during Caesar's dictatorship, might have derived from Narbonensis and not from Comata (Suet., *Iul.* 80.2: *Gallos Caesar in triumphum ducit, idem in curiam; Galli bracas deposuerunt, latum clavum sumpserunt*; cf. 76.3: *semibarbaris Gallorum*).

The first Narbonensian consul is Valerius Asiaticus who becomes *consul suffectus* in the year 35 (*EJ*, p. 43; *PIR* V 26, from Vienne), Domitius Afer follows in 39 (*suffectus*; *PIR*² D 126, from Nîmes). Asiaticus reaches a second consulate as *ordinarius* in 46, while the other Julio-Claudian consuls from the province are Duvius Avitus (*cos. suff.* 56; *PIR*² D 210, from Vaison) and Pompeius Paulinus (*cos. suff.* before 56; *PIR* P 479/80, from Arles). In the case of Cn. Iulius Agricola (*cos. suff.* 77; *PIR*² I 126 from Fréjus), Tacitus' father-in-law and the subject of his *de vita et moribus Iulii Agricolae*, we can follow the rise of his ancestors through the period of the Julio-Claudian dynasty. Both Agricola's grandfathers were *procuratores Augusti*, his father, L. Iulius Graecinus (*pr.?*; *PIR*² I 344), entered the senatorial order during the reign of Tiberius (Tac., *Agr.* 4.1). Agricola married the daughter of another senator from Narbonensis Domitius Decidius (*PIR*² D 143).

¹⁹ P.A. BRUNT, *Roman Imperial Themes*, Oxford 1990, p. 273.

After Italy the relatively small area of Narbonensis produced the largest number of knights during the Julio-Claudian period: 38. The runner-up is Spain with 27, and then comes Asia with 20. Again an indication of the thorough romanization of the province at an early stage: if the first century, as Demougin phrases it, saw the «provincialisation de l'ordre équestre», we can safely conclude that Narbonensians played an important part in this development²⁰.

Throughout the history of the empire the army was an important avenue for social mobility and Romanization. Recruits were drawn from Narbonensis from an early date onwards. We know that the knight Lucius Volusenus Clemens was commissioned by Augustus to enlist soldiers in the province (H.-G. Pflaum, *Fastes*, p. 189 no. 1 = *CIL* XI

²⁰ R. SYME, *Tacitus*, p. 587: «the families of the chieftains were mostly in possession of the citizenship»; p. 588, Caesar's senators deriving from Narbonensis; p. 590, early grants of franchise; p. 783-784, app. 79 «Narbonensian Romans»; p. 786-788, app. 82 «Provincial consuls», p. 37-68; cf. ID., *The Origin of Cornelius Gallus*, *CQ* 32 (1938), p. 41. P.A. GALLIVAN, *The Fasti for the Reign of Claudius*, *CQ* 28 (1978), p. 422, on Pompeius Paulinus and *passim* on the fasti for the reign of Claudius. R. SYME, *Tacitus*, p. 19-29, ch. III «Julius Agricola».

S. DEMOUGIN, *L'ordre équestre sous les Julio-Claudiens*, Rome 1988, p. 501-552, ch. VII «Origo», esp. p. 514-515, number of Narbonensian knights; p. 516-517, number of Spanish knights; p. 518, number of Asian knights; cf. p. 531 «Recrutement de l'ordre équestre en occident»; 532; 551: «provincialisation de l'ordre équestre».

S. DEMOUGIN, *Prosopographie* [n. 16], Julio-Claudian knights from Narbonensis: no. 40 C. **Cornelius** Gallus (Fréjus); 56 **Pompeius** Trogus (region of the Voconces); 70 [-] Jus T. F. Ter. (anonymus from Arles); 79 **Fabius** Maximus (Narbonne); 103 **Iulius** (Graecinus?) (Fréjus); 133 L. **Aemilius** Tutor (Vienne); 202 L. **Aponius** [Pup] (Béziers); 295 Sex. **Decius**, (Vienne); 300 C. **Passerius** Afer (Vienne); 311 Sex. **Aulienus** (Fréjus); 344 L. **Attius** Lucanus (Nîmes); 360 D. **Domitius** Celer (Aix); 361 **Domitius** Macer (Aix); 367 L. **Iulius** Fronto (Vienne); 398 L. **Vibrius** Punicus (Vienne); 410 — (anonymous officer from Narbonne); 504 C. **Marius** (Vienne); 505 [-] **M]axumus** (Narbonensis); 518 **Pompeius** (Paulinus) (Arles); 540 M. **Mettius** Modestus (Arles); 552 Sex. **Afran** Burrus (Vaison); 563 T. **Decidius** Domitianus (Narbonensis); 617 [-] Cerialis (Narbonne); 630 Sex. **Iulius** Max[imus] (Nîmes); 649 L. **Iulius** Burdo (Cavaillon); 683 L. **Iulius** Vestinus (Vienne); 695 [-] **Mercator** (Marseille or Fréjus); 699 C. **Fulvius** Lupus Servilian[us] (Nîmes); 702 **Valerius** Paulinus (Fréjus); 724 M. **Calpurnius** Tutor (Vaison); 725 [-] Calpiton[ius] (Nîmes); 729 M. **Coelius** Lectus (Vienne); 730 D. **Decma** nius Caper (Grenoble); 741 **Iulius** Viator (region of the Voconces: Vaison?).

ID., Julio-Claudian knights who *might* derive from Narbonensis: no. 104 **Iulius** (Procillus?) [R. SYME, *RR*, p. 338: Narbonensis; S. DEMOUGIN, p. 106: Liguria]; 248 C. **Cominius** [not enough evidence to be sure]; 358 T. **Culciscius** [either from Italy, or from Narbonensis]; 448 M. **Iulius** Romulus; 531 **Cornelius** Tacitus [either from the Transpadana, or from Narbonensis]; 539 [T. Iulius?] Pollio [Vienne]; 544 **Vicin** ius [either from Narbonensis, or from Spain]; 545 **Terentius** Lentinus [either from Narbonensis, or from Spain]; 546 T. **Iulius** Ustus; 710 **Cornelius** Fuscus [Vienne, Fréjus (R. SYME, *Tacitus*, p. 684, 805)]; 726 Q. **Cascellius** Labeo.

6011 = *ILS* 2691: *praefectus tironum Galliarum Narbonensis et Aquitanicae*; S. Demougin, *Prosopographie*, no. 234)²¹. Other inscriptions reveal the careers of several military men of equestrian rank from Narbonensis. That of Lucius Aponius, who served on Drusus' staff (*Tac., ann.* I 29; *PIR*² A 934; S. Demougin, *Prosopographie*, no. 202), for instance, is well-documented:

L(ucio) Aponio [Pup.], praefect(o) equit(um), [tribuno militum leg(ionis) VII] et leg(ionis) XXII, praefec[t(o)] castrorum, flamine Aug(usti)] primo Urbi Iul(iae) Ba[eter(ensium), praefecto pro (duum)viro C(ai) Caesaris Aug(usti) f(ili) [- st. Boicnuo patri ---] (H.-G. Pflaum, *Fastes*, p. 195 = *CIL* XII 4230 = *ILGN* 558).

Pflaum thinks that Aponius might be a descendant of one of the veterans of the Caesarian *legio* VII that supplied the settlers for the colony of Béziers. This would partially explain the brilliant career that brought him in the entourage of Tiberius' son Drusus²². Another famous knight, poet, and patron, possibly originating from Forum Iulii, was C. Cornelius Gallus (S. Demougin, *Prosopographie*, no. 40). Rising from *infima fortuna* to the post of *praefectus fabrum* in the war against Antony, Gallus ended his career as the first *praefectus Alexandriae et Aegypti* in 30 BC (*AE* 1964, 255 = H.-G. Pflaum, *Fastes*, p. 248 no. 1; Jerome, *chron.* 188 = H.-G. Pflaum, *ibid.*, p. 250 no. 6; Verg., *ecl.* 10, *passim*; Suet., *gramm. Verg.* 19; *Aug.* 66.1)²³. The text of the inscription he put up in April of the year 29 BC after having pacified his province is worth quoting in full:

C(aius) Cornelius Cn(aei) f(ilius) Gallu[s] eq[ui]tes Romanus pos[t] rege[s] | a Caesare deivi f(ilio) devictos praefect[us] Alex[andreae] et Aegypti primus defection[is] | Thebaidis intra dies xv quibus hostem v[icit] bis a]cie victor v urbium expugnator Bore[se]los Copti Ceramices Diospoleos meg[ales] Op[hieu] ducibus earum defectionum

²¹ H.-G. PFLAUM, *Fastes*, p. 269-278, listing common soldiers originating from Narbonensis serving under the Julio-Claudians. Pflaum concludes: «... ce sont les deux Germanies et la Pannonie qui ont enrôlé la majeure partie des recrues de Narbonnaise... (...) Quant aux villes c'est Vienne, qui grâce à son vaste territoire se taille la part du lion. Elle est suivie de Forum Iulii, d'où sont parties pas moins de 15 recrues dans presque toutes les provinces sauf l'Espagne et la Mésie».

²² H.-G. PFLAUM, *Fastes*, p. 195-210 and 257-259, listing 20 *equites Romani* who originated from Narbonensis and served in the cavalry under the Julio-Claudians; p. 249-255 and 265-267, some 15 Roman knights deriving from the province and serving as *praefectus fabrum* under the Julio-Claudians.

²³ R.D. ANDERSON – P.J. PARSONS – R.G.M. NISBET, *Elegiacs by Gallus from Qasr Ibrim*, *JRS* 69 (1979), p. 125-155, on Gallus' poetic exploits.

inter[ce]lptis exercitu ultra Nili catarhacte[n transd]ucto in quem locum neque populo | Romano neque regibus Aegypti [arma ante s]unt prolata Thebaïde communi omn[i]llum regum formidine subact[a] leg[at]isque re[g]is Aethiopum ad Philas auditis eoq[ue] | rege in tutelam recepto tyrann[o] Tr[iacontas]choenundi Aethiopiae constituto die[is] | patrieis et Nil[o adiu]tori d(e)d(icavit) | (H.-G. Pflaum, *Fastes*, p. 248 no. 4; *CIL* III 14147 = *ILS* 8995).

In the end his «disrespectful gossip» about Augustus and his «many reprehensible actions» earned him the disfavour of the *princeps*, who expelled Gallus from his circle of friends and forbade him to enter the imperial provinces. The senate «unanimously voted that he should be convicted in the courts, exiled, and deprived of his estate, that his estate should be given to Augustus, and that the senate itself should offer sacrifices» (Cass. Dio LIII 23.5–24.1; cf. Suet., *Aug.* 66.1–2: *ob ingratum et malivolum animum domo et provinciis suis interdixit*). «Overwhelmed by grief» Gallus, forty-three years old, committed suicide in 27 or 26 BC (Cass. Dio, *loc. cit.*: 26 BC; Jerome, *loc. cit.*: 27 BC). As the colony of Forum Iulii was established in 35 or 27 BC, it seemed likely, as Syme had already argued in 1938, that Gallus was of native extraction: «the son of a local dynast of Gallia Narbonensis». Positive proof for this hypothesis, however, was lacking (see below). Still, Gallus was regarded as one of the forerunners of «the invasion from Spain and Narbonensis», that included men like Valerius Asiaticus (*cos. suff.* 35; *cos.* 46), who was considered to be a suitable candidate for the purple in 41, and was counted among the friends of the emperor Gaius (Jos., *bell. Iud.* 252; Sen., *const.* 18.2); Iulius Vestinus, *praefectus Aegypti* from 59 to 62, a friend of the emperors Claudius and Vespasian, *auctoritate famaeque inter procures* (*IGR* I 1374, 1379; *Tab. Lugd.* col.II 10–11; Tac., *hist.* IV 53); Afranius Burrus, sole *praefectus praetorio* from 51 to 62, who in conjunction with Seneca ran the empire from 54 to 62, and ultimately Antoninus Pius, emperor of Rome from 138 to 161²⁴.

Julio-Claudian military men of senatorial rank deriving from Narbonensis are M. Pompeius Silvanus Staberius Flavinus (*cos. suff.* 45), Pompeius Paulinus (*cos. suff.* 53/4), L. Duvius Avitus (*cos. suff.* 56), and

²⁴ R. SYME, *art. cit.* (n. 20), p. 39–44; ID., *RR*, p. 309–310; and K.A. RAAFLAUB – L.J. SAMONS II, *Opposition to Augustus*, in: K.A. RAAFLAUB – M. TOHER (eds.), *Between Republic and Empire. Interpretations of Augustus and his Empire*, Berkeley 1990, esp. p. 423–425, on Cornelius Gallus. R. SYME, *Tacitus*, p. 599: «the invasion from Spain and Narbonensis», referring to the influx in the late first and early second centuries; cf. p. 586–587: «the provincial invasion».

T. Aurelius Fulvus (*cos. ord.* II 85). Instrumental in furthering their careers was S. Afranius Burrus, Nero's *praefectus praetorio* and probably the most influential Narbonensian of the first century²⁵.

In Tacitus' paraphrase of Claudius' speech on the grant of the *ius adipiscendorum in urbe honorum* to the *primores* of Gallia Comata, the emperor refers to the successful entry in the *curia* of the Balbi from Spain and *insignis viros e Gallia Narbonensi*. «Their descendants remain», as the historian continues his version of the imperial oration (Tac., *ann.* XI 23). The text preserved on the *Tabula Lugdunensis*, the official version of Claudius' speech, contains a reference to the *ornatissima valentissimaque* colony of Vienne: «how long has it been sending senators to the Senate House?» (*ILS* 212 col. II 9-10). Claudius proceeds: *ex qua colonia inter paucos equestris ordinis ornamentum, L. Vestinum, familiarissime diligo et hodieque in rebus meis detineo* (*ILS* 212 col. II 10-11). The emperor prefers to remain silent on Valerius Asiaticus and his brother, two more, and less loved, citizens of Vienne. Asiaticus committed suicide after having been accused of treason, while the fate of his brother is unknown. Both Claudius' words and Tacitus' rendering of them imply that by the time the emperor delivered his speech, in AD 48, members of the Narbonensian elite had already made their mark for more than one generation in Rome as *equites* and senators, and that this contribution to the administration of the empire was recognized and appreciated.

At this stage it might be useful to summarize Syme's prosopographical studies on the genesis of the 'Hispano-Narbonensian group' that came to rule the empire, and to supply the framework with some names. No need to say, that this is a simplified version of Syme's studies.

The first more or less systematic promotion of Spaniards and Narbonensians took place in the period 54-62, during the early years of Nero, when Seneca and Burrus built up «a body of allies». As we have seen, Narbonensians had long before reached the senate and the equestrian order, but now, for the first time, there was an effective advancement of men from Spain and Narbonensis. Burrus had been in the personal service of the Caesars as *procurator Augustae*, *procurator Tiberii Caesaris*, and *procurator Claudii*. Starting his career before 29 as a *procurator* of Livia Augusta, he remained in imperial favour throughout the reigns of Tiberius, Gaius, and Claudius. Burrus owed his appointment as sole *prae-*

²⁵ H.-G. PFLAUM, *Fastes*, p. 297-300: Pompeius Silvanus, from Arelate; p. 300-301: Pompeius Paulinus, from Arelate (*PIR* P 479/480); p. 301-302 Duvius Avitus, from Vasio (*PIR*² D 210).

fectus of the Guard in 51 to the emperor's wife Agrippina (*CIL* XII 5842 = *ILS* 1321; S. Demougin, *Prosopographie*, no. 552). After the death of Claudius, Burrus and Seneca managed to control Agrippina and her son, the young emperor Nero. To strengthen their position they promoted men from their respective provinces. Cn. Domitius Corbulo was given an important military command in the East in 54; he might well originate from Narbonensis (*PIR*² D 142; but see below)²⁶. Pompeius Paulinus (*cos.* ca. 53?) from Arles was in command of the four legions of *Germania Inferior* in the year 55 (*PIR* P 479). His sister, Pompeia Paulina (*PIR* P 508), was married to Seneca. Another Narbonensian, L. Duvius Avitus from Vasio (*cos. suff.* 56), Burrus' home-town, succeeded Pompeius in the command of this major army group in 58 (*PIR*² D 210). After the demise of Burrus in 62, Seneca retired, and this period of systematic advancement of Spaniards and Narbonensians ended. But both provinces remained in the ascendant.

One of Corbulo's legates in the East was T. Aurelius Fulvus from Nîmes (*PIR*² A 1510). Aurelius secured two consulates (*cos. suff.* 70?; *cos. ord.* 85), while his son Aurelius Fulvus (*PIR*² 1509) reached the consulate in 89. The latter was married to Arria Fadilla (*PIR*² A 1119), the daughter of Arrius Antoninus (*cos. suff.* 69; *cos. ord.* 97?; *PIR*² A 1086), who probably was a fellow Narbonensian (but see below). Their son, T. Aurelius Fulvus Boionius Arrius Antoninus (*PIR*² A 1513; cf. the stemma on p. 312), would become Hadrian's successor. Other Narbonensian connections can be detected. Trajan's wife, Pompeia Plotina (*PIR* P 509), might derive from Nîmes, where Hadrian built a basilica to honour her (*HA, Hadr.* 12.1). Domitia Lucilla Minor (*PIR*² D 183), the heiress to the enormous fortune that Cn. Domitius Afer (*cos. suff.* 39; *PIR*² D 126) of Nîmes had left to the Narbonensian brothers Cn. Domitius Tullus (*cos. suff.*?; *cos. ord.* 98; *PIR*² D 167) and Cn. Domitius Lucanus (*cos. suff.* 79; *PIR*² D 152), whom he had adopted in 42, married M. Annius Verus of Uccubi in Spain (*pr. c.* 130; *PIR*² A 696). Their son, M. Annius Verus (*PIR*² A 697), would succeed to the throne, and is known to posterity under the name Marcus Aurelius Antoninus. This, in short, is the structure of the Hispano-Narbonensian group that Syme laid bear. How much new information has come to light since 1958 to refine this picture²⁷?

²⁶ R. SYME, *Tacitus*, p. 591; p.788, app. 83.

²⁷ Based on: R. SYME, *Tacitus*, chs. XLIII, «The Rise of the Provincials»; XLIV, «The Antecedents of Emperors»; and app. 78-87, «Provincial Romans».

3. NEW EVIDENCE SINCE 1958

Of the 34 knights with Narbonensian antecedents listed in Demougin's *Prosopographie des chevaliers romains Julio-Claudiens*, a book published in 1992, only four cases represent new evidence.

In 1963 F. Magi published an inscription running:

iussu imp. Caesaris divi f. C. Cornelius Cn. f. Gallus praef. fabr. Caesaris divi f. Forum Iulium fecit (*AE* 1964, no. 255).

This inscription had been erased from the Vatican Obelisk and replaced by a dedication to Augustus and Tiberius by Gaius (*CIL* VI 882). Magi was able to reconstruct the original text by connecting the indentations that had been made to attach the bronze letters to the obelisk. The inscription shows that Gallus had started his career as the *praefectus fabrum* of Caesar Augustus. 'Forum Iulium', however, poses a problem.

On the basis of Jerome, *chron.* 188 (= H.-G. Pflaum, *Fastes*, p. 250 no. 6), Syme had argued that Gallus was from Forum Iulii and: «not of colonial Roman or of freedman stock, but like Caesar's friends Trogus and Procillus, the son of a local dynast of Gallia Narbonensis»²⁸. Hartmann notes, correctly in my opinion, that it is difficult to combine the idea of the 'local dynast' with the *infima fortuna* mentioned by Suetonius (*Aug.* 66.1). Another problem with Syme's hypothesis is that the colony of Fréjus was only established in 35 or 27 BC, in other words long after the birth of Gallus. Hartmann proposes: «Hieronymus hat eine Überlieferung besessen, die Gallus mit einem Forum Iuli oder Forum Iulium verband. Hieronymus oder seine Quelle hat, mangels genauer Angaben, angenommen, das sei die Geburtsstadt des Dichters». The 'Forum Iulium' mentioned in the inscription, however, is a city founded by Gallus in Egypt. This solves the difficulty of his birthplace: «Man käme damit endlich aus dem chronologischen Dilemma heraus, den Dichter in einer Stadt geboren werden zu lassen, die (frühestens) etwa 25 Jahre später gegründet wurde»²⁹. In a review Volkmann opined that 'Forum Iulium' might be a market place of some sort and not a town³⁰.

²⁸ R. SYME, *art. cit.* (n. 20), p. 43.

²⁹ E. HARTMANN, *Die Gallus-Inschrift auf dem Vatikanischen Obelisken*, *Gymnasium* 72 (1965), p. 9.

³⁰ H. VOLKMANN, *Die Gallus-Inschrift auf dem Vatikanischen Obelisken*, *Gymnasium* 72 (1965), p. 328-330.

Three funeral inscriptions, published in 1967 by Y. Burnand, honour the brothers D. Domitius Celer (S. Demougin, *Prosopographie*, no. 360) and Domitius Macer (*ibid.*, no. 361), and their father L. Domitius Maguntius, from Aix:

- (a) D(ecimus) Domitius L(ucii) f(ilius) Vol(tinia tribu) Celer tr(ibunus) mil(itum) praef(ectus) fabr(um) vivos fecit.
- (b) L(ucius) Domitius L(ucii) f(ilius) Vol(tinia tribu) Magun[tius?]
Domitia Sex(ti) f(ilia) mater.
- (c) [...] Domitius L(ucii) f(ilius) Vol(tinia tribu) Macer tr(ibunus)
mil(itum) pontifex [...]

Domitius Celer was identified by Devijver as the friend and *legatus* of Cn. Piso mentioned in Tacitus, *annales* II.77.1 and II.79.2 (= *PIR/2 D* 140; cf. H. Devijver, *PME*, D 18).

An inscription on a piece of lead recovered in Beirut, first published in 1970, gives additional information on the career of M. Mettius Modestus (S. Demougin, *Prosopographie*, no. 540 = *PIR/2 M* 566):

M(arcus) Mettius Modestus [p]roc(urator) Aug(usti).

It reveals that Mettius was *procurator ducenarius* in Syria during the reign of Claudius. His career would lead him to the *praefectura Aegypti* under Nero, a post that his son, M. Mettius Rufus, would occupy during the principate of Domitian, from 89 to 91/2 (*PIR/2 M* 572). The grandsons of Mettius, C. Trebonius Proculus Mettius Modestus (*cos.* 103; *PIR/2* 568) and M. Mettius Rufus (*PIR/2* 571), entered the senatorial order. This family's history, covering three generations, offers a fine illustration of the social mobility of the Narbonensian elite (cf. *AE* 1973, no. 548).

Apart from the evidence on Cornelius Gallus, the Domitii, and Mettius Modestus, no new evidence has come to light in regard to knights from Narbonensis.

In 1982 Burnand collected the evidence for senators originating from Gaul³¹. In all, he lists in the category 'certi' 32 senators. One of the names dropping out is that of Corbulo. In his book on Tacitus, Syme argued for Narbonensian origins; but later on, in an article published in 1970, he changed his view opting for Apennine Italy (cf. *ILS* 9518)³². In

³¹ *Senatores Romani ex provinciis Galliarum orti, Tituli* 5 (1982), 387-437.

³² R. SYME, *Tacitus*, p. 591; p. 788, app. 83: «Possibly Narbonensian»; ID., *Roman Papers* II, Oxford 1979, p. 814-820, Apennine Italy; cf. ID., *Roman Papers* VI, Oxford 1991, p. 215.

many cases the origins of an individual can only be surmised: local inscriptions, the tribe (all Narbonensian communities, with exception of the Roman colonies, belonged to *Voltinia*), nomenclature, marriage alliances, and adoptions being the sole evidence to go by. Hence there is room for dispute. Burnand, for instance, has expressed doubts about the Narbonensian origins of Arrius Antoninus, the grandfather of Antoninus Pius³³. According to the same author, Marius Celsus, although of provincial extraction, might not be from Nîmes³⁴. In *More Narbonensian Senators* Syme entertains «valid doubts (...) about the expulsion» of a dozen senators from the list of Narbonensian senators compiled by Burnand in 1982, and he adds a list of 29 senators, abounding «in conjectures and assumptions», of persons possibly deriving from the province³⁵.

4. CONCLUSION

«Rulers change, not the system»: the continuity, as Syme maintained, resided in the Roman elite. An elite that derived its membership first from Rome, then, from Italy, and finally from the provinces. This idea of a share in the administration of the empire for the «entire flower of colonies and municipalities everywhere» can already be found in Claudius' speech on the grant of the *ius adipiscendorum in urbe honorum* to the *primores* of Gallia Comata, delivered in AD 48 (*ILS* 212), and in Tacitus' version of the imperial *oratio* in *annales* XI 23-25. Narbonensis and Spain were the first provinces that send their magnates to Rome. They, accordingly, would supply the city with her first non-Italian emperors in the persons of Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, and Commodus. Through his prosopographical work Syme reconstructed the rise of the Hispano-Narbonensian group that came to rule the empire in the second century AD.

Since the late fifties new material has come to light, and evidence that was already available has been reinterpreted. Syme himself published several articles on the Narbonensians³⁶. Others, like Pflaum and Bur-

³³ Y. BURNAND, *Sénateurs et chevaliers romains originaires de la cité de Nîmes sous le Haut-Empire: Étude prosopographique*, *MEFRA* 87.2 (1975), p. 699-700, *contra* R. SYME, *Roman Papers* VI, p. 215.

³⁴ Y. BURNAND, *loc. cit.*, p. 700-701, *contra* R. SYME, *Roman Papers* VI, p. 217.

³⁵ R. SYME, *Roman Papers* VI, list A p. 215-217; list B p. 220-224.

³⁶ Cf. *Roman Papers* V, p. 520-545 [1985]; VI, p. 209-231 [1986].

nand³⁷, have produced extensive studies devoted to Narbonensian prosopography, which have refined and in some instances corrected Syme's outline of 'the rise of the provincial'. In general terms, however, his prosopographical work on the provincial inflow has been confirmed.

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³⁷ H.-G. PFLAUM, *Fastes*; Y. BURNAND, *art. cit.* (n. 33); *art. cit.* (n. 31).

EPIGRAPHIC NOTES ON THE SABKHAT BARDAWIL AND EL-ARISCH REGION IN THE NORTHERN SINAI

Although the northern Sinai was definitely part of Egypt since the end of the first century AD, there is little consistency in the scholarly treatment of the epigraphic texts from this area. In the *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* the inscriptions appear under the heading of both Egypt and Palestine, in *L'Année Épigraphique* under the heading of Egypt, while in the *Sammelbuch* they have not been systematically included. Some texts are not even listed in the larger corpora and have therefore remained virtually unnoticed. The present paper brings together the inscriptions found in the region between Sabkhat Bardawil and el-Arisch, i.e. the territory of the ancient cities of Ostrakine and Rinokoloura. For each text there is a basic bibliography with indication of photographs or facsimiles and a concise commentary; for some texts corrections are proposed.

At least thirteen Christian funerary steles with similar forms and formulas, but now in different collections and museums, probably originate from the northern Sinai¹. They are all of kurkar sandstone, a concretion of sea sand rich with shells; the upper portion of these tombstones is carved roughly in the shape of a human head, on which facial features, probably representing the deceased, are engraved and emphasized with red paint. Ten of them have been published. None of the inscriptions contains a

¹ B. LIFSHITZ, *Inscriptions de Sinai et de Palestine*, ZPE 7 (1971), p. 154-161 and pl. 5-6; B. LIFSHITZ, *Ancient Tombstones in Northern Sinai*, Qadmoniot 4.1 (1971), p. 24-26 (in Hebrew); *Bull. ép.* 1971, p. 528 no. 698; S. APPLEBAUM – B. ISAAC – Y. LANDAU, in *SCI* 4 (1978), p. 144-145 (as quoted in *SEG XXVIII*, p. 404-405); A. OVADIAH, *Early Christian Inscribed Tombstones in the D. Pinkus Collection, Israel*, in *Studium Biblicum Franciscanum. Liber Annuus* 28 (1978), p. 127-141 and pl. 21-23; *id.*, in D.M. Pippidi [ed.], *Actes du VIIe congrès international d'épigraphie grecque et latine, Constantza, 9-15 septembre 1977*, Bucuresti–Paris 1979, p. 429-430; *Bull. ép.* 1980, p. 479 no. 561; E.D. OREN – M.A. MORRISON, *Excavations at Ostrakine. Part II*, in *The Illustrated London News*, December 1981, p. 90; E.D. OREN – P. FIGUERAS, *Le Nord-Sinaï. Voie de passage entre l'Égypte et le Moyen-Orient. Des villes oubliées arrachées au sable*, in *Le Monde de la Bible* 24 (1982), p. 44-45; J. BINGEN in *SEG XXVIII*, p. 403-405 nos. 1459-1468; *Bulletin d'Information Archéologique* 1991, II, p. 30; E.D. OREN, *Ostrakine*, in E. Stern e.a. (eds.), *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land, III*, New York e.a. 1993, p. 1173; J.-Y. CARREZ-MARATRAY, *Épigraphes de la nécropole de Péluse (Tell el-Kanaïs)*, in *CRIPEL* 16 (1994), p. 166.

date; they are ascribed only roughly to the end of the fourth and the beginning of the fifth century AD (Figueras), to the fifth century AD (Ovadiah) or to the Byzantine period in general (Bingen). Only four of them are said to have been found in the northern Sinai between lake Bardawil and el-Arisch, but Oren and Figuera know similar fragments from el-Khuinat, a site some 2,5 km southwest of el-Felusiyyat (Ostrakine), and they therefore suggest that all steles came from that necropolis. The inscriptions usually contain three elements: (1) the encouragement formulas εὐμοίρει («be blest with good share!») and εὐψύχει («be of good courage!»); (2) the name of the deceased; (3) the consolation formula οὐδεὶς ἀθάνατος («nobody is immortal»). In two instances the name of the deceased is omitted or placed after the consolation formula. The inscription is often accompanied by crosses or other Christian symbols. For *SEG XXXVIII* 1465-1468 the article of Applebaum is regarded as the *editio princeps*, but in fact Lifshitz's publication is earlier and some of his readings are to be preferred. In the following brief survey the ten published steles are alphabetically ordered by the name of the deceased.

(1) Alphyos (Alpheios) (*SEG XXVIII* 1465). Except for the head the stele has no decoration²:

εὐμόρυ, | εὐψίχῳ, | Ἀλφουος. | οὐδὲς ἀθάνατον

Bingen wonders if ἀθάνατον is not a misprint for ἀθάνατος, but the photos clearly show a 'N'. In the fifth century AD a bishop and a priest called Alpheios are known in adjacent Rinokoloura, so the name apparently enjoyed a certain popularity in the region³.

(2) Epimachos (*SEG XXVIII* 1464). Only the lower part of the head is preserved. Above the inscription three monogrammatic crosses and some other symbols are engraved⁴:

εὐμίρυ, εὐψίχῳ, Ἐπιμάχου. οὐδὲς | ἀθάνατος

Apparently the name of the deceased was by mistake not written in the vocative, but in the genitive. The name Epimachos is also attested for a martyr of

² B. LIFSHITZ, *ZPE* 7 (1971), p. 157 no. 11 (photo pl. 5c) and *Qadmoniot* 4.1 (1971), p. 24-26 no. 1 (photo p. 25); S. APPLEBAUM *et al.*, *art. cit.* (n. 1), p. 144-145 in *SEG XXVIII*, p. 404-405 no. 1465; E.D. OREN – P. FIGUERAS, *art. cit.* (n. 1), p. 45.

³ Cf. Photios, *Bibliotheca* 52 [13b] (*Photius. Bibliothèque*. Tome I [«Codices» 1-83]. Texte établi et traduit par R. Henry [Collection Byzantine publiée sous le patronage de l'Association Guillaume Budé], Paris 1959, p. 40).

⁴ A. OVADIAH, *art. cit.* (n. 1), p. 137-139 no. 6 (photo pl. 23, 6); *id.*, *Actes*, p. 429-430; E.D. OREN – P. FIGUERAS, *art. cit.* (n. 1), p. 45; *SEG XXVIII*, p. 404 no. 1464.

Pelousion, who probably died about 302/303 AD⁵, for a bishop of Rino-kouloura about 520-534 AD and for a bishop of Pelousion about 744-768 AD⁶.

(3) Euzeios (*SEG XXVIII* 1460). Beneath the head a Maltese cross is engraved and the first line is preceded by a monogrammatic cross⁷:

εὐμίρι, ἐ<δ>|ψίχη, Εὐζόει. οὐδὶς ἀθάνατος

Ovadiah believes that the face has the features of a woman and considers Εὐζόει a variant spelling of a woman's name Εὐζώνη, which is not known elsewhere; Bingen, on the other hand, probably correctly sees it as a variant of Εὐζώι, which is a late vocative of the name Euzeios.

(4) Heron (*SEG XXVIII* 1459). Beneath the head three monogrammatic crosses and other symbols are engraved. The inscription omits the usual formula «εὐψύχει», but adds that the boy died at the age of twenty; such a biographic element is quite exceptional in this group of steles⁸:

εὐομίρι (*sic*), Ἡρῶν. οὐδὶς ἀθάνατος. ἔτων κ'

(5) Maria (*SEG XXVIII* 1466). The head is lost. Three crosses, of which the left is eroded, are engraved above the inscription⁹:

εὐμίρι, | εὐψίχη, | Μαρία. | οὐδὶς | ἀθάνατος

The name Maria also occurs in *SEG VIII* 305 (discussed below), possibly found near el-Arisch.

(6) Ob[.]echia (?) (*SEG XXVIII* 1463). The head and particularly the face are drawn more attentively than on the other tombstones. Above the inscription three Greek crosses are engraved¹⁰:

εὐμίρυ, εὐψίχη, Οβ[.]ηχία. ο[ὐδὶς | ἀθάνατος| - -]

⁵ Cf. M. VAN ESBROECK, *Saint Épimache de Péluse*, I-III, in *AB* 84 (1966), p. 399-442; 85 (1967), p. 441-457; 100 (1982), p. 125-145.

⁶ Cf. M. VAN ESBROECK, *art. cit.* (III), p. 135-136.

⁷ A. OVADIAH, *art. cit.* (n. 1), p. 130-132 no. 2 (photo pl. 21, 2); *id.*, *Actes*, p. 429-430; E.D. OREN – P. FIGUERAS, *art. cit.* (n. 1), p. 45; *SEG XXVIII*, p. 404 no. 1460.

⁸ A. OVADIAH, *art. cit.* (n. 1), p. 127-130, no. 1 (photo 21,1); *id.*, *Actes*, p. 429-430; E.D. OREN – M.A. MORRISON, *art. cit.* (n. 1), p. 90 (with photo); E.D. OREN – P. FIGUERAS, *art. cit.* (n. 1), p. 45 (with photo); *SEG XXVIII*, p. 403 no. 1459.

⁹ B. LIFSHITZ, *ZPE* 7 (1971), p. 157-158 no. 13 (photo pl. 5d); *Qadmoniot* 4.1 (1971), p. 24-26 no. 2 (photo p. 25 no. 2); *Bull. ép.* 1971, p. 528 no. 698; S. APPLEBAUM *et al.*, *art. cit.* (n. 1), p. 144-145 in *SEG XXVIII*, p. 404-405 no. 1466; E.D. OREN – P. FIGUERAS, *art. cit.* (n. 1), p. 45; E.D. OREN, *art. cit.* (n. 1), p. 1394 (with photo).

¹⁰ A. OVADIAH, *art. cit.* (n. 1), p. 135-137, no. 5 (photo pl. 23,5); *id.*, *Actes*, p. 429-430; E.D. OREN – P. FIGUERAS, *art. cit.* (n. 1), p. 45; *SEG XXVIII*, p. 404 no. 1463.

Ovadiah suggests restoring the unparalleled name Ὀβ[ελ]ηχία, but Bingen rightly prefers to leave the matter open. Since all the usual elements of the inscription appear in l. 1-4, the following line(s) — against the suggestions of Ovadiah — probably contained only some crosses or other symbols.

(7) Ouersenouphis (Orsenouphis) (*SEG XXVIII* 1468). The head is lost. Above the inscription three crosses are engraved¹¹:

εὐμήρι, | εὐψίχη, | Οὐερσε[ν]ρουφι[ς]. οὐδὲν[ι]ς ἀθάνατος

Lifshitz restored Οὐερσέ[ς] Ῥ]ουφί[νου], «Ouerses son of Roupinos»; *SEG* only read «Οὐερσέ[ς] []ουφί vac»; I propose the supplement Οὐερσε[ν]ρουφι[ς] or Οὐερσε[ν]ρουφι[ος]¹².

(8) Thenbotas (*SEG XXVIII* 1467). Beneath the head two crosses are engraved and under the inscription a larger cross stands in the middle of the stele¹³:

[εὐ]μίρι, εὐ[ψ]ίχι, Θεμβ[ι]ωτ[α]ς. οὐδὲς ἀ[θ]άνατος

The readings and line divisions in *SEG* are not to be accepted. The Egyptian woman's name Thenbotas has only one parallel¹⁴.

(9) Name not clear (*SEG XXVIII* 1461). The face is completely worn away. The first line is preceded by a Greek cross, while the last line ends with a monogrammatic cross¹⁵:

εὐμήρι, εὐψίχι. οὐδὲ<ς> | ἀθάνατος. ΟΡΗΙΣΟΥ

¹¹ B. LIFSHITZ, *Inscriptions*, p. 157-159 no. 14; *Tombstones*, p. 24-26 no. 4 (photo p. 26 no. 4); S. APPLEBAUM *et al.*, *art. cit.* (n. 1), p. 144-145 in *SEG XXVIII*, p. 404-405 no. 1468; E.D. OREN – P. FIGUERAS, *art. cit.* (n. 1), p. 45.

¹² For the Egyptian name O(ue)rsenouphi(o)s, demotic *Wrš-nfr*, cf. J. QUAEGBEUR, *Le dieu égyptien Shaï dans la religion et l'onomastique* (OLA, 2), Leuven 1975, p. 140; *Demotisches Namenbuch* I 2, Wiesbaden 1981, p. 120; H.-J. THISEN, *Zwischen Theben und Assuan. Onomastische Anmerkungen*, ZPE 90 (1992), p. 294. The same name is known for an Egyptian martyr originating from Dios Polis Parva in Upper Egypt; cf. Th. BAUMEISTER, *Martyr invictus* (*Forschungen zur Volkskunde*, 46), Münster 1972, p. 141.

¹³ B. LIFSHITZ, ZPE 7 (1971), p. 157-158 no. 12 (photo pl. 6b); *Qadmoniot* 4.1 (1971), p. 24-26 no. 3 (photo p. 26 no. 3); S. APPLEBAUM *et al.*, *art. cit.* (n. 1), p. 144-145 in *SEG XXVIII*, p. 404-405 no. 1467. The sigma of Θεμβ[ι]ωτ[α]ς does not resemble the other sigmas in the text and maybe [..]α.ι ο<υ>δὲς ἀ- should be read in l. 3, but it is impossible to say anything for sure only on the basis of the photos.

¹⁴ PSI I 32, 2 (Herakleopolites, 208 AD) [gen. Θεμβωτατος].

¹⁵ A. OVADIAH, *art. cit.* (n. 1), p. 132-133 no. 3 (photo pl. 22, 3); *id.*, *Actes*, p. 429-430; E.D. OREN – P. FIGUERAS, *art. cit.* (n. 1), p. 45; *SEG XXVIII*, p. 404 no. 1461.

The last word ΟΦΙΣΟΥ possibly hides the name of the deceased¹⁶ (Bingen), in which case a genitive can be written instead of a vocative, rather than the unparalleled expression ὥρη σου, «your time (has come)» (Ovadiah, Figueras).

(10) Name omitted or lost (?) (*SEG XXVIII* 1462). In the hair probably a piece of jewellery or a decorative pin is depicted, so perhaps the deceased was a woman. Above the inscription a christogram surrounded by a circle is flanked by two Greek crosses. The inscription is broken off, possibly with the loss of the name of the deceased¹⁷:

ἐὐμίλρυ, ἐὐψίλχη. οὐδὶς ἀθλάνατος | [- - -]

While working in el-Felusiyyat in 1914 Clédat bought from some Bedouins five funerary steles said to have come from a necropolis in the Wadi el-Reheiba in Palestine; in the upper portion of the tombstones a round head is carved out¹⁸. Despite Clédat's communication Figueras believed that these steles had a form similar to those from el-Khuinat and that they came from the same place¹⁹. However, Schmidt had visited the necropolis of Ruhebeh, the ancient city of Rehoboth, in 1905 and had seen there four of the five inscriptions later bought by Clédat²⁰. In fact the resemblance with the el-Khuinat steles is not so close, except for the round head on top, and even in this respect Clédat does not mention the facial features, so characteristic for el-Khuinat. These steles are not made of kurkar stone, but of hard white limestone and none of the formulas used resembles those of el-Khuinat.

Since the editions of Schmidt and Clédat — taken over by the *Sammelbuch* — differ on many points and since Figueras incorrectly made extensive use of these texts in his description of the el-Khuinat group, I will discuss here briefly the five Rehoboth inscriptions. Schmidt's publication does not indicate the line division, and since no photos or drawings of the steles are given, we have to rely for this on the edition of

¹⁶ The closest parallel I could find is the name Ὠρίστου in *Chrest.Mitt.* 82, 22 (= *P.Rein* I 44; Hermou Polis Magna, 104 AD).

¹⁷ A. OVADIAH, *art. cit.* (n. 1), p. 133-135 no. 4 (photo pl. 22, 4); *id.*, *Actes*, p. 429-430; *SEG XXVIII*, p. 404 no. 1462.

¹⁸ J. CLÉDAT, *Notes sur l'Isthme de Suez (monuments divers)*, *RecTrav* 37 (1915), p. 39-40.

¹⁹ E.D. OREN – P. FIGUERAS, *art. cit.* (n. 1), p. 45.

²⁰ N. SCHMIDT – B.B. CHARLES, *Greek Inscriptions from the Negeb*, *AJA* 14 (1910), p. 60-65.

Clédat. One of the texts can be dated in 600 AD and maybe the other texts also belong to the sixth or seventh centuries AD.

(1) Ioannes, son of Halaphir (*SB* III 7020). The first line is preceded by a cross²¹:

Ἰωάννου | Ἀλαφίρ

Schmidt translates «Alaphir, son of John», but the order of the names makes this highly unlikely; perhaps the genitive indicates the owner of the grave or it is just a mistake instead of a nominative. The patronymic Halaphir is probably Nabataean.

(2) Maria (*SB* III 7023). In the head, which is broken at the top, a cross was engraved and perhaps the first line was also preceded by a cross. Maria died on Artemisios 1 (21 April according to the calendar of Arabia) in the tenth year of an unidentified indiction²²:

ἐκυμ(ήθη) ἡ μακ(αρία) | Μαρία | μ(ηνὶ) Ἀρ(εμισίου) α'
 ἰν(δικτιῶνος) ι'

Schmidt in his edition was rather careless in the use of abbreviation brackets, while Clédat and Bilabel (confusing the Π and the Τ) in l. 3 apparently did not recognize the dating formula, thus creating the ghost-name *Μαρπαῖνι*.

(3) Sergios (*SB* III 7022). The inscription is written in the head. The first line is preceded by a cross²³:

ἀναπ(άη) | Σεργίου

The genitive *Σεργίου* is puzzling and several solutions have been proposed, with *ἀναπ()* completed accordingly. Schmidt reads *ἀναπ(άε) Σεργίου*, «The child of Sergios has died», which is not very convincing. Clédat instead gives *ἀνάπ(αυσον) Σεργίου*, «Give peace to Sergios», while Bilabel adds that one should read *Σέργιον*. If one wants to correct the text, though, it seems more plausible to restore the common

²¹ N. SCHMIDT – B.B. CHARLES, *art. cit.* (n. 20), p. 64 no. 13; J. CLÉDAT, *art. cit.* (n. 18), p. 39-40 no. 1 (Ἰωάν[νη]ς); E. BILABEL, in *SB* III, p. 186 no. 7020; E.D. OREN – P. FIGUERAS, *art. cit.* (n. 1), p. 45.

²² N. SCHMIDT – B.B. CHARLES, *art. cit.* (n. 20), p. 63 no. 7; J. CLÉDAT, *art. cit.* (n. 18), p. 39-40 no. 4; E. BILABEL, in *SB* III, p. 186 no. 7023; E.D. OREN – P. FIGUERAS, *art. cit.* (n. 1), p. 45.

²³ N. SCHMIDT – B.B. CHARLES, *art. cit.* (n. 20), p. 64, no. 12; J. CLÉDAT, *art. cit.* (n. 18), p. 39-40, no. 3; E. BILABEL, in *SB* III, p. 186 no. 7022; E.D. OREN – P. FIGUERAS, *art. cit.* (n. 1), p. 45.

ἀναπ(άη) and to translate «Sergios has died», considering the genitive — again — a mere mistake for a nominative.

(4) Stephanos (SB III 7021). The stele contains only the name of the deceased²⁴:

Στέφανος

(5) Stephanos son of Pheloumene (Philoumene) (SB III 7024). The head is broken. The first line and the dating formula in l. 4 are both preceded by a cross. Stephanos died in the year 495 according to the era of the province of Arabia, i.e. in 600/601 AD; the interpretation of «Kalendae 29» is not evident, but perhaps it equals the Arabian month Xanthikos, thus giving a date of 19 April 600 AD²⁵:

+ ἀναπάε | ὁ μακάριος | Στέφ(ανος) Φελουμῆνη<ς> + μη(νὶ) |
καλανδὸν κθ', | ἔτους υῴε'

Clédât's excavations in el-Felusiyat in 1914 yielded a few inscriptions in the fortified monastery, which was probably built in the fifth century AD. Some walls are embellished. Thus room no. 2 contains a decoration showing a cross, encircled by a medallion, with Α-Ω. [Ι(ησοῦ)]ς [Χ(ρίστο)]ς written between the arms of the cross²⁶. A fragmentary inscription on a piece of red porphyry found in that same room consists of three symbols or letters²⁷. Among the smaller finds was a plaster amphora stopper with the word NH[K]A written between the arms of a cross²⁸. In the so-called large south church one of the Corinthian capitals, according

²⁴ J. CLÉDAT, *art. cit.* (n. 18), p. 39-40 no. 2; E. BILABEL, in SB III, p. 186 no. 7021; E.D. OREN – P. FIGUERAS, *art. cit.* (n. 1), p. 45.

²⁵ N. SCHMIDT – B.B. CHARLES, *art. cit.* (n. 20), p. 62 no. 4; J. CLÉDAT, *art. cit.* (n. 18), p. 39-40 no. 5; E. BILABEL, in SB III, p. 186 no. 7024; E.D. OREN – P. FIGUERAS, *art. cit.* (n. 1), p. 45; Y.E. MEIMARIS – K. KRITIKAKOU – P. BOUGLIA, *Chronological Systems in Roman-Byzantine Palestine and Arabia. The Evidence of the Dated Greek Inscriptions (Meletemata, 17)*, Athens 1992, p. 159, 275, EPA 429. For the date, cf. Schmidt and Meimaris; the year (which Clédât by mistake read as '465') has also been incorrectly converted according to the era of Diocletian (Clédât, Bilabel) or that of Alexandria (Figueras).

²⁶ J. CLÉDAT, *Fouilles à Khirbet el-Flousiyeh (janvier-mars 1914)*, ASAE 16 (1916), p. 17 (with facsimile fig. 5); E.D. OREN – P. FIGUERAS, *art. cit.* (n. 1), p. 38.

²⁷ J. CLÉDAT, *art. cit.* (n. 26), p. 20 (with facsimile fig. 10).

²⁸ J. CLÉDAT, *art. cit.* (n. 26), p. 20 (with facsimile fig. 11). It is not clear whether Clédât wanted to restore the formula νικᾷ, «he overcomes» (cf. H. HEINEN, *Eine neue alexandrinische Inschrift und die mittelalterliche 'laudes regiae' Christus vincit, Christus regnat, Christus imperat*, in G. Wirth et al. [eds.], *Romanitas – Christianitas. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Literatur der römischen Kaiserzeit Johannes Straub zum 70. Geburtstag am 18. Oktober 1982 gewidmet*, Berlin–New York 1982, p. 675-701, esp. 682), or if he had something else in mind.

to Clédât made in the time of Justinian, has on top the stonecutter's mark ΑΗ²⁹. In a collapsed wall immediately southwest of the church some fifty Greek ostraka were discovered, all written by the same person and often mentioning the place name Ὀστρακίνη. They were taken to the Museum of Cairo, but apparently remained unpublished³⁰.

Lifshitz published an inscription on a fragment of a church's marble fencing, said to have been found near lake Bardawil³¹:

[– ὑπὲρ σ]ωτ(ηρίας) τῶν καρποφορησάντων ΑΠΙ

The editor notes that the verb καρποφορεῖν, «to bear fruit», is very often used for dedications of churches. The inscription may have come from one of the three churches of el-Felusiyyat.

At a vast Muslim cemetery north of el-Arisch (Rinokoloura) Clédât found in 1910 a reused marble stele with a Coptic funerary inscription. The stone was originally rectangular, but was remodelled to a more rounded shape. The inscription itself is very damaged and possibly counted seven lines. Clédât could read the date of Choiak 13 (9 December) (l. 6), but the figure of the indiction (l. 7) was destroyed³².

In 1914 Clédât bought a white limestone plate with a Greek inscription (SB XVI 12997). The previous owner did not know its provenance, but said that he had always seen it in his house in el-Arisch. Of the inscription only the beginning with the titles of the Roman emperor Alexander Severus is preserved. As the emperor is invested for the twelfth time with the *tribunicia potestas*, the text can be dated between 10 December 232 and 9 December 233 AD³³:

²⁹ J. CLÉDAT, *art. cit.* (n. 26), p. 26.

³⁰ J. CLÉDAT, *art. cit.* (n. 26), p. 27; cf. E.D. OREN, *art. cit.* (n. 1), p. 1171.

³¹ B. LIFSHITZ, *ZPE* 7 (1971), p. 154, 160 no. 17 and B. LIFSHITZ – L. KOENEN, *Nachtrag zu B. Lifshitz, Inscriptions de Sinai et de Palestine* (7, 1971, p. 151-163), *ZPE* 8 (1971), p. 160; *Bull. ép.* 1971, p. 528 no. 698 and 1972, p. 510 no. 573. No photo published.

³² J. CLÉDAT, *Notes sur l'Isthme de Suez. Autour du Lac de Baudouin*, *ASAE* 10 (1909-1910), p. 225 (with facsimile fig. 6); cf. S. TIMM, *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten in arabischer Zeit* (TAVO, 41), Wiesbaden 1984, I, p. 150.

³³ Ismailia Museum, inv. no. 2558. J. CLÉDAT, *art. cit.* (n. 18), p. 37-38 (with facsimile fig. 13); F. PREISIGKE, in *SB* III 2, p. 186 no. 7018; P. BURETH, *Les titulatures impériales dans les papyrus, les ostraca et les inscriptions d'Égypte (30 a.C. – 284 p.C.)* (*Papyrologica Bruxellensia*, 2), Bruxelles 1964, p. 109; *AE* 1973, p. 182 no. 559bis; P.J. SUPPESTEIJN, *More Remarks on Some Imperial Titles in the Papyri*, *ZPE* 49 (1982), p. 107 n. 39; S. TIMM, *op. cit.* (n. 32), I, p. 152 n. 15; H.-J. RUPPRECHT, in *SB* XVI 3, p. 481-482 no. 12997. For ὑπατος, read ὑπάτωρ. In l. 8 it might be better (against *AE*) to follow the disposition of *AE* 1973, no. 559. From Traianus on the starting point of the tribunician

[Αὐτοκράτορι] | Καίσαρι Μ(άρκῳ) Αὐρ(ηλίῳ) | Σεουήρῳ |
 Ἀλεξάνδρῳ | Εὐσεβεῖ Εὐτυχ(εῖ) | Σεβ(άστῳ), δημ(αρχικῆς)
 ἐξου(σίας) | τὸ ιβ', ὑπατος | τὸ γ', ἀ[νθύπατ(ος), π(ατήρ) π(ατρί-
 dos) | - - -]

Clédat states that the fourth line has been chiselled out, but as I do not see any reason for such an action, I doubt that the damage was intentional. Sijpesteijn's corrections for l. 8-10, reprinted in *SB XVI* 12997, are not to be followed since they ignored the edition in *AE* 1973, 559bis and the parallel text discussed next.

Another stele (*AE* 1973, 559) clarifies the nature of this inscription. This kurkar stone slab is said to come from the vicinity of Rafah, but a location more southerly (between the former Egyptian border and el-Arisch?) seems more likely³⁴:

[Αὐτοκράτορι | Καίσαρι Μ(άρκῳ) Αὐρ(ηλίῳ)] | Σεουήρῳ |
 Ἀλεξάνδρῳ | Εὐσεβεῖ Εὐτυχ(εῖ) | Σεβ(άστῳ), δημ(αρχικῆς)
 ἐξου(σίας) | τὸ ιβ', ὑπατος | τὸ γ', ἀνθύπατ(ος), π(ατήρ) π(ατρί-
 dos) | ἀπὸ ὁρὼν | Συρίας Παλαι[στ(ινῆς) | μίλια -]

The titles and the date are identical, but it now becomes clear that the inscriptions served as a kind of milestone and were probably incorporated in the wall of official buildings. Since the distance to the border of Syria Palestina is missing, it is impossible to determine exactly where the milestone was placed. It might not be a wild guess to link these inscriptions, which were probably set up by a local authority, with the projected visit of Alexander Severus to Egypt sometime before the autumn of 233 AD³⁵; it is probably due to the nature of the two milestones

reckoning was 10 December; Alexander Severus had been consul for the third time in 229 AD and this element was retained *honoris causa* as a part of his titulare; cf. Y.E. MEIMARIS *et al.*, *op. cit.* (n. 25), p. 336.338. For the titles, cf. Bureth and Sijpesteijn.

³⁴ Jerusalem, Department of Antiquities and Museum, inv. no. R.4516. D. BARAG, *The Borders of Syria-Palestina on an Inscription from the Raphia Area*, *IEJ* 23 (1973), p. 50-52 (photo pl. 12b); *AE* 1973, p. 182 no. 559; I. FINKELSTEIN, *The Northern Coast of Sinai. Historical Geographical Aspects*, in Z. MESHEL – I. FINKELSTEIN (eds.), *Sinai in Antiquity. Researches in the History and Archaeology of the Peninsula*, Tel Aviv 1980, p. 191 (with photo) and n. 67 (in Hebrew); Y.E. MEIMARIS *et al.*, *op. cit.* (n. 25), p. 336.338 no. 8. For l. 1-2 it might be better (against *AE*) to follow the disposition of *SB XVI* 12997.

³⁵ For this visit, cf. J.D. THOMAS – W. CLARYSSE, *A Projected Visit of Severus Alexander to Egypt*, *AncSoc* 8 (1977), p. 195-207; H. HALFMANN, *Itinera principum. Geschichte und Typologie der Kaiserreisen im römischen Reich* (Heidelberger althistorische Beiträge und epigraphische Studien, 2), Stuttgart 1986, p. 232; A. MARTIN, *La dédicace impériale de Coptos I. Portes 84*, *CE* 61 (1986), p. 318-323; P. VAN MINNEN – J.D. SOSIN, *Imperial Pork. Preparations for a Visit of Severus Alexander and Iulia Mamaea to Egypt*, *AncSoc* 27 (1996), p. 171-181.

that Iulia Mamaea, the mother of the emperor, who is recorded in the other documents related to this visit, is not mentioned.

In 1925 Tonneau saw five Greek inscriptions in the possession of the governor of el-Arisch and kept in the serai there. The man had them collected and at least one of them is from Nessana or el-Audja, a place near the Egyptian–Israeli frontier some 70 km southeast of el-Arisch³⁶. It is far from sure therefore that the four others came from the immediate region of el-Arisch, but the use of the era of Diocletian and of Egyptian months probably indicates a provenance from the Egyptian northern Sinai. These funerary inscriptions all have a similar structure, but because of the differences in material and in date it is not evident that they come from the same spot. I do not know their present whereabouts.

The oldest dated inscription is *SEG* VIII 305³⁷. This funerary stele apparently in kurkar stone was made for a woman called Maria and consists of two parts: a round and inscribed upper part connected with a rectangular and not inscribed lower part. The form resembles some of the Rehoboth inscriptions, but the material used points to a location near the coast:

+ ἀνεπά(η) | ἡ μακ(αρία) Μαρία. ρκη´ | ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ιγ´

There is some controversy about the reading of the date in l. 3 (ρκη´ or [ʾA]ρ(τεμισίου) κη´), but most likely «year 128, which corresponds with year 13 of the indiction» is referred to. Furthermore, the era used is not evident. A conversion according to the era of Diocletian gives 411/412 AD, but this year corresponds with a 10th indiction³⁸. Possibly a mistake has been made; in this case the year of the indiction is most likely the more correct and the text can so be dated in 413/414 AD. This implies that it is one of the earliest gravestones dated according to the era of Diocletian³⁹.

³⁶ R. TONNEAU, *Excursion biblique au Négeb*, *RBi* 35 (1926), p. 597; *id.*, *Épigraphie grecque du Négeb*, *RBi* 36 (1927), p. 93-95.

³⁷ R. TONNEAU, *RBi* 36 (1927), p. 94-95 no. 4 (facsimile pl. 2, 4); A. ALT, *Epigraphische Bemerkungen zur Geschichte des Christentums in der Palaestina tertia*, *JPOS* 8 (1928), p. 195-199, with the review of R. TONNEAU, in *RBi* 38, 1929, p. 313; A. ALT, *Anfang und Ende des altchristlichen Inschriftenwesens in Palästina und Arabien. I. Die Anfänge*, *PJB* 28 (1932), p. 84; *SEG* VIII 1, p. 46 no. 305.

³⁸ For this kind of discrepancy, cf. B. SCHLAUCK – A. ALT, *Anfang und Ende des altchristlichen Inschriftenwesens in Palästina und Arabien. II. Die Ausgänge*, *PJB* 29 (1933), p. 91; R.S. BAGNALL – K.A. WORP, *The Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt (Studia Amstelodamensia ad epigraphicam, ius antiquum et papyrologicam pertinentia*, 8), Zutphen 1978, p. 45.

³⁹ For R.S. BAGNALL – K.A. WORP, *Chronological Reckoning in Byzantine Egypt*, *GRBS* 20 (1979), p. 279, the earliest certain example dates from 491/492 AD.

The second dated inscription is *SEG VIII 302*⁴⁰. This limestone funerary stele for a man called Stephanos is rounded and broken at the bottom; it was probably the upper part of a stele like no. 305:

+ ἀναπ(άη) | Στέφανος υ(ι)οῦ | Γωλωτ Διωκλιτιανοῦ τπδ' | μ(ηνὶ)
Π(α)χ(ῶν) ζ' ἰν(δικτιῶνος) ιγ'

There is some discussion concerning the patronymic, which is written in a ligature; the reading..λωτ is certain and maybe the name Golot is meant, a form of the Arab name Galat or Goliath. For υ(ι)οῦ, read υ(ι)ὸς. There is also a controversy about the name of the month and the era used. «Διωκλιτιανοῦ» is not part of the name of the deceased as has sometimes been suggested, but belongs to the dating formula. Since above the Π a small χ is possibly written, the name of the month could be restored as P(a)ch(on) 6 (1 May). Year 384 according the era of Diocletian corresponds with 667/668 AD, but with an 11th and not with a 13th indiction. Perhaps — again — a mistake should be reckoned with; if the date according to the indiction is to be preferred over the date according to the era, Stephanos died on 1 May 670 AD.

The next two inscriptions do not mention a specific year and can possibly be placed in the fifth century AD. *SEG VIII 303* is a funerary stele, probably in kurkar sandstone, for a woman Kosmias, who died on Phaophi 22 (19 October)⁴¹:

+ ἀνεπάη | ἡ μακαρ(ία) Κλοσμίας ἐν | μ(ηνὶ) Φαῶφ κβ'

The use of sandstone of marine origin and the mention of an Egyptian month might point to a place of origin in the northern Sinai.

SEG VIII 304 is a broken, white marble funerary plate for a deacon whose name starts with an M[] and who died between Epeiph 2[0] and 2[9] (14-23 July)⁴²:

+ ἀνεπάη Μ[-] | διακόνου [-] | ἐ(ν) μ(ηνὶ) Ἐπίφ κ[-]

⁴⁰ R. TONNEAU, *RBi* 36 (1927), p. 93-94 no. 1 (facsimile pl. 2, 1); A. ALT, *JPOS* 8 (1928), p. 199-202; R. TONNEAU, *RBi* 38, 1929, p. 314-315; B. SCHLAUCK – A. ALT, *art. cit.* (n. 36), p. 91; G.E. KIRK, *Era-Problems in the Greek Inscriptions of the Southern Desert*, *JPOS* 17 (1937), p. 210-211; *SEG VIII* 1, p. 46 no. 302; G.E. KIRK, *The Era of Diocletian in Palestinian Inscriptions*, *JPOS* 18 (1938), p. 162-163; Y.E. MEIMARIS *et al.*, *op. cit.* (n. 25), p. 315-318 no. 4. It is not clear why Schlauck and Alt (p. 91 n. 4) believe that the inscription comes from the region south of Bir el-Seba'.

⁴¹ R. TONNEAU, *RBi* 36 (1927), p. 94 no. 2 (facsimile pl. 2, 2); A. ALT, *JPOS* 8 (1928), p. 199; R. TONNEAU, *RBi* 38, 1929, p. 315; *SEG VIII* 1, p. 46 no. 303; S. TIMM, *op. cit.* (n. 32), I, p. 150; Y.E. MEIMARIS *et al.*, *op. cit.* (n. 25), p. 318.

⁴² R. TONNEAU, *RBi* 36 (1927), p. 94 no. 3 (facsimile pl. 2, 3); A. ALT, *JPOS* 8 (1928), p. 199; *SEG VIII* 1, p. 46 no. 304; S. TIMM, *op. cit.* (n. 32), I, p. 150; Y.E. MEIMARIS *et al.*, *op. cit.* (n. 25), p. 318.

Tonneau read κ', but since the stele is broken at the κ, the disposition of the text easily allows a following letter. Again a genitive seems to be used instead of a nominative.

A fragment of a white marble vase with an inscribed metric epitaph in the private collection of M. Dayan is said to be found in the neighbourhood of el-Arisch⁴³. The editor Lifshitz does not date this very fragmentary text; parallels are found in Greece, but not in Palestine or Egypt:

μή με π[—]λον κλίμα[α - αὖ]τὸς ἐγὼ Ζοί[λος - ἢ πρὶν τ]ὸ γλυκὺ φῶς
 μ[ε? - ἢ - πα]λαιστροφύλα[ξ - ἢ - ἄ]λλω σὰς οἴσε[ις? - ἢ - τι]μῶν
 ἄρετήν [- ἢ -]παρ παπα[- ἢ -]δι' ὅλου τ[ε? - ἢ ἐσθλὸς ἐ]ῶν
 ἔθα[νον -]

The deceased Zoilos speaks in the first person singular (l. 3) and was possibly a παλαιστροφύλαξ or superintendent of a wrestling-school (l. 5).

From the same collection Lifshitz also published two limestone funerary steles, of which the first is said to have been found between el-Arisch and Rafah, the second in el-Arisch itself. On the first stele three crosses, of which the left one is eroded, are engraved above the inscription. «Di...s», the name of the deceased, is accompanied by the well-known encouragement and consolation formulas and — like the el-Khuinat steles — this tombstone may also belong to the fifth century AD⁴⁴:

εὐμίρι, εὐψίλχη, Δι...ς. οὐδὶς ἢ ῥῥάνατο[ς]

Since this stele is made of limestone and the el-Khuinat steles of kurkar stone, there is no reason to ascribe it to that specific group, yet the similarities confirm the alleged provenance.

On the second inscription, found in el-Arisch, Lifshitz could not read the first lines, and because he did not publish a photo of it, it is difficult to improve his readings⁴⁵:

ΧΙΟΙΕΙΛΟΧΙΦΟΥ. οὐδὶς ἀλθάνατος

⁴³ B. LIFSHITZ, *ZPE* 7 (1971), p. 155-156 no. 9 (photo pl. 8d. [l. 2-3]); *Bull. ép.* 1971, p. 528 no. 698. (l. 2-3) Willy Clarysse: [αὖ]τὸς ἐγὼ; (l. 4) Clarysse: μ[ε? —]; (l. 10); Lifshitz: [ῥῥῥῥῥῥ] ῥῥ, but metrically maybe better [ῥῥῥῥῥῥ ἐ]ῶν ῥῥῥῥ[νον].

⁴⁴ B. LIFSHITZ, *ZPE* 7 (1971), p. 154, 157, 159 no. 15 (photo pl. 6c); *Bull. ép.* 1971, p. 528 no. 698; S. TIMM, *op. cit.* (n. 32), I, p. 150.

⁴⁵ B. LIFSHITZ, *ZPE* 7 (1971), p. 154, 157, 159 no. 16; *Bull. ép.* 1971, p. 528 no. 698; S. TIMM, *op. cit.* (n. 32), I, p. 150.

The consolation formula is typical of the el-Khuinat group, but also occurs in the previous text and in two inscriptions from Tell el-Kana'is near Pelousion, therefore apparently reflecting a regional feature⁴⁶.

Let us end with a small onomastic note. We now know the names of some fourteen persons probably buried in the Sabkhat Bardawil and el-Arisch region in the fourth to seventh centuries AD: Alpheios, Di...s, Epimachos, Euzoios, Heron, Kosmias, deacon M[], Maria (bis), Ob[...].echia (?), Ouersenouphis, Stephanos son of Golot, Thenbotas, Zoilos. Some names are Greek (Alpheios, Epimachos, Euzoios, Heron, Kosmias, Stephanos, Zoilos) or biblical (Maria); Ouersenouphis and Thenbotas are Egyptian; there is also the Coptic stele; and Golot may hide an Arab name. Some authors quoted by Hieronymus and Kyrillos believe that the people in the region between Rinokoloura and Kasion in the fourth-fifth centuries AD spoke the language of Canaan, i.e. Syrian⁴⁷, but the epigraphic evidence cannot confirm this statement. None of the names can be considered typically Syrian and since it is hard to determine the ethnic status of the people with a Greek name, only the Egyptian names — and possibly the Arab Golot — can inform us on the nature of the population.

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⁴⁶ SB III 7015-7016 (cf. J.-Y. CARREZ-MARATRAY, *Les inscriptions grecques*, in H. JARITZ et al., *Pelusium. Prospection archéologique et topographique de Kana'is 1993 et 1994* (Beiträge zur ägyptische Bauforschung und Altertumskunde, 13), Stuttgart 1996, p. 195-198, I. Kana'is 3 and 1, dated before 365 AD).

⁴⁷ Hieronymus, *Commentarii in Esaiam*, V 19.18 (S. *Hieronymi presbyteri opera*, Pars I. *Opera exegetica* 2. *Commentariorum in Esaiam libri I-XI*. Cura et studio Marci ADRIAEN [Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina, 73], Turnholti 1963, p. 197-198); Kyrillos of Alexandria, *Commentarius in Isaiam prophetam* 19.18 (S.P.N. *Cyrilli Alexandriae archiepiscopi opera quae reperiri potuerunt omnia. Accurante et denuo recognoscente Jacques-Paul MIGNÉ. Tomus tertius* [Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Graeca, 70], Parisiis 1859, col. 468).

HERODOTOS RECITED IN THE ALEXANDRIAN THEATRE?
A PUZZLING PAGE ON HELLENISTIC PERFORMANCE
(ATHEN. XIV 620D)*

The passage referred to in the above title is, as we will try to demonstrate in the present paper, an in several aspects highly interesting, if not unique testimony in Greek literature concerning theatrical history and performance in the Hellenistic period.

After having picked up (in 616c-e) the theme of humour from the preceding speaker Magnos, Myrtilos, another guest at Athenaios' banquet, holds forth on some of the many forms of entertainment (ἄκροάματα). Thus he speaks of flute-playing, both as an independent art or as an accompaniment to dancing (616e-618c). Via a quotation of Tryphon he switches to the art of song (ᾠδή, up to 620a). At this point the intervention of Myrtilos seems to be finished, but Athenaios himself goes on to deal with other kinds of ἄκροάματα: Οὐκ ἀπελείποντο δὲ ἡμῶν τῶν συμποσίων οὐδὲ ῥαψωδοί. He concludes his review of the evolution of literary recitals with the following quotation: Ἰάσων¹ δ' ἐν τρίτῳ

* This article is the result of a cooperative effort. More specifically, K. Delcroix is responsible for sections I-II, R. Giannattasio Andria for sections III-IV.

Note the following abbreviations (any others should be self-explanatory):

P.M. FRASER, *PA: Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 2 vol., Oxford 1972.

P. GHIRON-BISTAGNE, *Acteurs: Recherches sur les acteurs dans la Grèce antique*, Paris 1976.

C.B. GULICK, *Athenaeus*: refers to the *Loeb Classical Library* edition.

J.B. O'CONNOR, *Actors: Chapters in the History of Actors and Acting in Ancient Greece, together with a Prosopographia Histrionum Graecorum*, diss. Chicago 1908.

A. WILHELM, *Urkunden: Urkunden dramatischer Aufführungen in Athen (Sonder-schriften des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien, 6)*, Wien 1906.

Periodical sigla are those of *L'Année Philologique*.

¹ We know two Iasones who were literarily active: Suda, s.v. Ἰάσων I 52: Μενεκράτους, Νυσαεὺς ἐκ πατρὸς, ἀπὸ δὲ μητρὸς Ῥόδιος· φιλόσοφος, μαθητὴς καὶ θυγατριδοῦς καὶ διάδοχος τῆς ἐν Ῥόδῳ διατριβῆς Ποσειδωνίου τοῦ φιλοσόφου. Ἐγραψε Βίους ἐνδόξων καὶ Φιλοσόφων διαδοχὰς καὶ Βίον Ἑλλάδος ἐν βιβλίοις δ' κατὰ τινας. Οὗτος ἔγραψε καὶ περὶ Ῥόδου; s.v. Ἰάσων I 53: Ἀργεῖος, ἱστορικός, νεώτερος Πλουτάρχου τοῦ Χαιρωνέως, γραμματικός. Ἐγραψε περὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος βιβλία δ' ἔχει δὲ ἀρχαιολογίαν Ἑλλάδος καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν Μηδικῶν τά τε κατ' Ἀλέξανδρον ἕως τελευτῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ μέχρι τῆς Ἀθηναίων ἀλώσεως, τῆς γενομένης ὑπὸ Ἀντιπάτρου τοῦ πατρὸς Κασάνδρου. According to these data Iason of Nysa can be situated about the mid-1st cent. BC, and Iason of Argos in the first half of the 2nd cent. AD. The problem of the identification of these Iasones (and that their works were possibly mixed up in the Suda), other fragments of and testimonia on Iason(es), and

περὶ τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου ἱερῶν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ φησὶν ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ θεάτρῳ ὑποκρίνασθαι Ἡγησίαν τὸν κωμῳδὸν τὰ Ἡροδότου, Ἑρμόφαντον δὲ τὰ Ὀμήρου².

The following aspects will be commented upon in this article:

- 1) Can the reciters Hegesias and Hermophantos be identified with any homonymous theatrical people attested elsewhere?
- 2) In which theatre did they perform?
- 3) On what occasion did the performance take place?
- 4) Did the comedian Hegesias really recite Herodotos? What about the proposed corrections to the text?

I. HEGESIAS AND HERMOPHANTOS

1.1. Athenaios' text itself already gives us some hints as to the identity of these two men. Since their activity is defined as ὑποκρίνασθαι, they belong to the category of actors, reciters, and declaimers³, which is confirmed by the place-indication ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ θεάτρῳ, and by the addition of the word κωμῳδός⁴ to Hegesias' name. As for Hermophantos, Athenaios does not specify whether he was a comic or a tragic actor.

On the origin of the two actors, both genealogical and geographical⁵, the text says nothing. Their chronological situation is even more difficult.

the question whether the Iason of this passage is to be identified with one of these, will be dealt with in the continuation of Jacoby's *FGrHist*, in part IVA (on biography). For the moment, see F. JACOBY, art. *Iason* (11), in *RE* IX 1 (1914), col. 780-781; F. FUNAIOLI, art. *Iason* (12), *ibid.*, col. 781-782; P.M. FRASER, *PA* II, p. 65-66 n. 151. It is clear that the contents of the passage concerned may have fit in both Iason of Nysa's Βίος Ἑλλάδος and Iason of Argos' Περί τῆς Ἑλλάδος. Since these two authors are to be dated before Athenaios, he may have used both of them. Therefore Fraser remains very reserved as to the identity and date of the Iason quoted by Athenaios; cf. *PA* I, p. 23; p. 212. See also n. 39 and 74 below.

² C. MÜLLER, *Scriptores rerum Alexandri Magni*, Parisiis 1846, p. 160 F 3 = *FGrHist* 632.

³ Cf. *LSJ* s.v.: «reply» > «speak in dialogue» > «play a part, be an actor» (said of both tragedy, comedy, and pantomime) > «deliver a speech, declaim» (said of e.g. orators and rhetoricians). As an example of the last meaning *LSJ* gives precisely τὰ Ὀμήρου from our text. Bailly s.v. also cites the passage as an example of the use of the verb «en parlant de rhapsodes». See on the term ὑποκριτής J.B. O'CONNOR, *Actors*, p. 1-5; A. PICKARD-CAMBRIDGE, *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens*, Oxford 1953, p. 126-127; B. ZUCCELLI, *Ἵποκριτής. Origine e storia del termine (Pubblicazione dell'Istituto di Filologia Classica [Università di Genova], 15)*, Genova 1962; and P. GHIRON-BISTAGNE, *Acteurs*, p. 115-119.

⁴ On the meaning of this term and its evolution, see §4 below.

⁵ The phrase ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ led C.B. GULICK, *Athenaeus* VII, p. 443, to wrongly call Hermophantos an «Alexandrian actor»; in VII, p. 438, for Hegesias, and VI, p. 538 & 539, for both Hegesias and Hermophantos, he mentions no ethnic.

Of course we have the absolute *terminus ante quem* of Athenaios' work (late 2nd–early 3rd cent. AD). Since up to now it has proved impossible to identify (and date) for certain Athenaios' source, Iason (either late-Hellenistic or early Roman imperial period; see note 1), we cannot advance this *terminus*. As for a *terminus post quem*, the fact that both actors are mentioned in a work on Alexander (the Great) and in combination with Alexandria clearly points to the Hellenistic period. In the following paragraphs we will try to prove an early Hellenistic context.

1.2. No other literary sources contain the names of these two ὑποκριταί, but several inscriptions have to be taken into account.

1.2.1. Hermophantos⁶

1.2.1.1. *IG* II-III² 2325, fr. z-a' (l. 231)⁷: Ἑρμόφαντος. The fragments concerned are part of the 39 pieces of an eight-part catalogue of the winners of Attic scenic contests, found mainly on the south side of the Akropolis, in the neighbourhood of the Dionysos theatre. Köhler in *IG* II 2 rightly described the inscription as «catalogi poetarum tragicorum et comicorum atque actorum tragicorum et comicorum cum numeris victoriarum Dionysiis Magnis et Lenaeis partarum». The catalogue consists of lists of names, followed by figures, chronologically ordered according to the authors' or actors' first victory. The oldest part of the inscription may have been engraved at the earliest at the end of the 4th–beginning of the 3rd cent. BC, the more recent part about the middle of the 2nd cent. BC.

⁶ Cf. M. BONARIA, art. *Hermophantos* (3), in *RE* Suppl. X (1965), col. 321-322, and (4), col. 322.

⁷ See J.B. O'CONNOR, *Actors*, no. 181; *Pros. Ptol.* VI 16997; H.J. METTE, *Urkunden dramatischer Aufführungen in Griechenland (Texte und Kommentare, 8)*, Berlin–New York 1977, VC2, col. 6, l. 17; I.E. STEFANIS, Διονυσιακοὶ τεχνῖται. Σύμβολες στήν προσοπογραφία τοῦ θεάτρου καὶ τῆς μουσικῆς τῶν ἀρχαίων Ἑλλήνων, Iraklion 1988, no. 908.2

The full 'history of the edition' of this inscription will not be dealt with here. The reader is referred to the following editions: S.A. KOUMANUDIS, Ἐπιγραφαὶ ἐκ τοῦ Ἀσκληπείου καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸ τόπων, in Ἀθήναιον 7 (1878), p. 74-97, esp. 80-86; U. KÖHLER, *Documente zur Geschichte des athenischen Theaters*, in *MDAI(A)* 3 (1878), p. 104-134 & p. 229-258, esp. 241-257, and *IG* II 2 (1883), p. 404-410 (*IG* II 977); A. WILHELM, *Urkunden*, p. 89-166; and J. KIRCHNER, *IG* II-III² (1931), p. 665-675 (*IG* II-III² 2325). For an extensive commentary on the entire inscription, see A. WILHELM, p. 89-166; cf. also P. GHIRON-BISTAGNE, *Acteurs*, p. 27-31, 53-62.

We follow the text and numbering of Wilhelm, also adopted by Kirchner. The numbering of the fragments by the other editors is as follows: Koumanudis fr. Δ = Köhler (1878) fr. 2a-b = Köhler (1883) fr. u-v = Wilhelm and Kirchner fr. y-z-a' (Kirchner numbers the lines of all the fragments consecutively; fr. y-z-a' = l. 199-231). A photograph of these fragments can be seen in Wilhelm (p. 152-153).

The fragments we are interested in (y-z-a', the last of which was published only by Wilhelm), contain two columns of one of the catalogues. The text of the lower part of the fragments z-a' (separated from each other by '+' signs) is as follows:

Φίλοκ[λῆς - -]	[.....] + ρος
Ἀριστοκράτης +
Ἐμμενίδης	¹⁸ + ς
Αὐτόλυκος	Δ[ημο?] + κράτης
Φιλωνίδης	Φιλ[ο] + στέφανος
Σωκράτης	Ἐρμ + όφαντος

After the hypotheses of several scholars⁹ Capps was the first to posit that the fragments belonged to a catalogue of comic actors¹⁰. This position was accepted by Wilhelm, who believed that it was impossible to distinguish whether they belonged to the list of comic actors who won at the *Dionysia* or the *Lenaia*¹¹. To date the actors, Capps tried to establish, on the basis of some known names, the following chronological order: the names in the first column of fr. y date from the middle of the 4th cent. BC¹²; col. I in fr. z continues with the end of the 4th cent. BC,

⁸ On Wilhelm's photograph only a | is legible, and not l-, as Köhler reads twice, interpreting it as [ῥH - -]. Cf. 1.2.2.1.

⁹ U. KÖHLER, in *MDAI(A)* 3 (1878), p. 243, recognized in fr. y-z (his fr. 2) the names of six known authors of Old Comedy. According to T. BERGK, *Verzeichnis der Siege dramatischer Dichter in Athen*, in *RhM* N.F. 34 (1879), p. 292-333 [= *Kleine philologische Schriften* II, Halle a.S. 1886, p. 466ff.], esp. 315) this was a list of tragic poets active at the time of Alexander the Great and his successors. U. KÖHLER, in *IG* II 2, put the fragment in the section *Fragmenta incerta*, but in his commentary (p. 410) he wrote: «Fragmenta uv [= Wilhelm fr. y-z] et wx ad eundem catalogum et alterum ad Dionysia Magna alterum ad Lenaea pertinere facile tibi persuadebis»; OECHMICHEN, in *SBAW*, Philos.-philol. Cl., 1889, p. 151ff., thought it was part of a catalogue of comic poets.

¹⁰ E. CAPPS, *The Catalogues of Victors at the Dionysia and Lenaea*, *CIA* II 977, in *AJPh* 20 (1899), p. 388-405, esp. 403-404.

¹¹ A. WILHELM, *Urkunden*, p. 150. J.B. O'CONNOR, *Actors*, p. 95 & 98 resp., no. 181 [Hermophantos], and 209 [Hegesias], J. KIRCHNER, in *IG* II-III², p. 671, and P. GHIRON-BISTAGNE, *Acteurs*, p. 324, perhaps too hastily accept that the fragments belong to a catalogue of comic actors who won at the *Lenaia*.

¹² These dates are very approximate: E. CAPPS, *op. cit.* (n. 10), p. 403, accepted the identification of Kallippos (fr. y, col. I, l. 2) with the one who won at the *Lenaia* in Athens in 307/6 BC (*IG* II 1289, l. 6), and that of Hieronymos in l. 8 with the one who won at the *Lenaia* in Athens in 354 BC, according to the editor of *IG* II 972, l. 9. So there is already a chronological problem: even if Hieronymos' victory in 354 BC was his first (and thus would fit in the list of the middle of the 4th cent. BC), it is difficult to explain how Kallippos, who won in 307 BC, could precede Hieronymos in the list. E. CAPPS, *The Dating of Some Didascalie Inscriptions*, in *AJA* 4 (1900), p. 84, and *Studies in Greek Agonistic Inscriptions*, in *TAPhA* 31 (1900), p. 117, confirmed his dating of Kallippos,

followed by col. II of fr. γ and fr. α' on the first half of the 3rd cent. BC¹³. On the basis of this chronology, Capps dated the activity of the Ἑρμ- - in the last line of col. II to c. 260-250 BC¹⁴. He was the first to identify this Ἑρμ- - with the actor Hermophantos from the Athenaios-passage¹⁵. His hypothesis, at least that of restoring the name, was confirmed by the discovery of a new fragment, published by Wilhelm as fr. α', and which fits exactly with the above-mentioned fragment. In l. 17 we indeed read the name Ἑρμόφαντος, and the approximate date of Hermophantos' victory in the inscription (260-240 BC) fits well with the Hellenistic sphere of the Athenaios-passage.

1.2.1.2. *CIG* 3091, l. 5¹⁶: ὑποκριτῆς Ἑρμόφαντος. An actor Hermophantos (comic or tragic) is indeed mentioned in a choregic inscription which contains a list of winners (*choregoi*, authors, actors, and flute-players)¹⁷. The name belonged to the part of the list concerning the scenic contests (tragedy & comedy). The inscription was dated by Boeckh (*CIG*), on the basis of the form of the letters, «inter Alexandrum M. fere et primum ante Christum saeculum». On the basis of an identification of the Σάτυρος ἀλλητῆς listed in the same inscription ((l. 12) with the homonymous ἱερεὺς (*sc. τῶν τεχνιτῶν*)¹⁸ from the (Teian) inscription

but on p. 74ff. and p. 120 respectively he changed that of Hieronymos' victory at the *Lenaia* in Athens: instead of 354 BC, he proposed 290 BC, which was taken over by J. KIRCHNER, *IG* II-III², p. 671; Capps added that a later victory (his second or third), and not his first, was mentioned here.

¹³ Cf. A. WILHELM, *Urkunden*, p. 147: the fragments γ-z-α' list victories from the end of the 4th to the first half of the 3rd cent. BC.

¹⁴ E. CAPPS, *TAPhA* 31 (1900), p. 135. J. KIRCHNER, *IG* II-III², p. 671, again without giving his reasons, advanced this date up to c. 240 BC, accepted by J.B. O'CONNOR, *Actors*, p. 95 no. 181, and P. GHIRON-BISTAGNE, *Acteurs*, p. 324.

¹⁵ J.B. O'CONNOR, *Actors*, p. 95 no. 181; P. GHIRON-BISTAGNE, *Acteurs*, p. 324; I.E. STEFANIS, *op. cit.* (n. 7), p. 171 no. 908 also accept this identification; *PP* VI 16997 is more cautious («peut-être à identifier avec...»).

¹⁶ A. BRINCK, *Inscriptiones Graecae ad choregiam pertinentes*, in *Dissertationes Philologicae Halenses*, Halis Saxonum 1886, no. 100; J.B. O'CONNOR, *Actors*, no. 182; H.J. METTE, *op. cit.* (n. 7), IIC1baIA, l. 6; I.E. STEFANIS, *op. cit.* (n. 7), no. 908.1; not in *Pros. Ptol.* VI 16997.

¹⁷ A. BOECKH, *CIG* II, put it under the Lydian inscriptions (from Teos?), thinking that it related to the Cnidian Games. A. BRINCK, *op. cit.*, put the inscription in his section II, *Reliquarium* [i.e. *non Atticarum*] *civitatum tituli ad choregiam pertinentes*, nos. 100-102, *Samus*, endorsing W.H. BADDINGTON, *Voyage archéologique en Grèce et en Asie Mineure, Inscriptions grecques et latines*, Tome III [*Asie Mineure-Syrie-Ile de Chypre*], 2^e partie, *Explication*, Paris 1876, p. 78. He also showed that the inscription was to be read in two columns, and not in one as Boeckh did.

¹⁸ Who, in his turn, might be the same as the Teian Dionysos priest (whose name is not mentioned) from *CIG* 3067.

CIG 3068A, l. 1 (according to Boeckh not after 158 BC), he suggested as date the middle of the 2nd cent. (c. 170/160) BC¹⁹. Capps²⁰ found this identification rather weak, since there is no ethnic or patronymic to compare. He referred to another Samian flute-player, Σάτυρος Εὐμένους Σάμιος, found in a Delphic dedicatory inscription (inv. 1002 = *Syll.*³ 648B), dated by its first editor²¹, on palaeographical grounds, in the 2nd cent. BC. According to Capps it could go back to the 3rd cent. BC. In that case *CIG* 3091, which mentions the actor Hermophantos, might perhaps be dated to the 3rd cent. BC as well. The Hermophantos of the inscription might then be the same as his namesake in the Athenaios-passage²² (on the occasion of a celebration he dated under Ptolemaios II Philadelphos). Although at first glance Capps' hypothesis seems very acceptable (he thus identifies two (Samian?) flute-players), his chronological 'manœuvre' remains rather problematic²³. Thus the identification with the

¹⁹ The identification of these two Satyroi, accepted by A. BRINCK, *op. cit.* (n. 16), p. 211, was initially rejected by E. PREUNER, *Ein delphisches Weihgeschenk*, Leipzig 1900, p. 71, on which A. WILHELM, *Urkunden*, p. 155, wrote: «gestehe ich nicht einzusehen»; but Preuner (*Griechische Siegerlisten*, in *MDAI(A)* 28, 1903, p. 369) had already changed his mind and agreed with this identification too, as Wilhelm remarked in his *Nachträge* (p. 254).

²⁰ *TAPhA* 31 (1900), p. 134.

²¹ L. COUVE, *Inscriptions de Delphes*, in *BCH* 18 (1894), p. 70-100, esp. 84-87, identified this Satyros with the Σάτυρον Εὐμένους Σάμιον (without the indication of flute-player) in the undated inscription found in the Delian theatre and published by S. REINACH, *Antiquités découvertes au théâtre de Délos*, in *BCH* 13 (1889), p. 370; according to E. PREUNER (*Weihgeschenk*, p. 71 and *Siegerlisten*, p. 369) this Delian inscription dated from (shortly) before 166 BC, and thus indicates also the approximate date of the Delphic inscription. H. POMTOW in *Syll.*³ 648 (containing both the Delian (A) and the Delphic (B) inscription) dated it somewhat earlier: «c.a. 200-194».

²² I.E. STEFANIS, *op. cit.* (n. 7), p. 171, under no. 908, has no chronological objections to identify these three Hermophantoi. E. CAPPS, in *TAPhA* 31 (1900), p. 135, even proposed to restore the Samian inscription as follows: [ἐχορήχουν κωμωδοῖς | Ἀριστόδημος..., | Διόφαντος Διομ..., | Βλήσιος (but see the following note) Θ... | ἐνίκα Ἀριστόδημος, | ὑποκριτὴς Ἑρμόφαντος, clearly based on the fact that Hegesias is called κωμωδός in the Athenaios passage, and in his view confirmed by *IG* II 977 = II-III² 2325.

²³ Already noticed by A. WILHELM, *Urkunden*, p. 155: if the Hermophantos of *CIG* 3091 is the same as the one in Athenaios and *IG* II 977 (whom he dates c. the middle of the 3rd cent. BC, cf. *supra*), then *CIG* 3091 too has to be dated to the middle of the 3rd cent. BC, which would mean that the αὐλητὴς Σάτυρος cannot be identical with the Σάτυρος Εὐμένους(ς) Σάμιος of the Delphic and Delian inscriptions, dated by some scholars (see preceding note) to the 2nd cent. BC. According to E. PREUNER, in *MDAI(A)* 28 (1903), p. 370, Capps therefore had to move the date of both the Delian and the Delphic document up to the 3rd cent. BC (although he had no evidence to do so and neglected the dating his predecessors had proposed on palaeographical grounds): «wie Capps auch sonst seinen Ergebnissen dadurch schadet, daß er mit entfernten Möglichkeiten wie mit

Hermophantos of *IG* II-III² 2325 cannot be taken for granted. On the other hand, if one accepts the identification (and the consequent dating) of the Satyros of *CIG* 3091 with the priest of *CIG* 3068 (2nd cent. BC), the Hermophantos of *CIG* 3091 would be a younger (2nd-century) homonym of the Hermophantos of *IG* II-III² 2325²⁴.

1.2.2. Hegesias²⁵

As far as we know, no comic actor named Hegesias is known (for sure) from other sources than the Athenaios-passage²⁶.

1.2.2.1. In the same inscription *IG* II-III² 2325, fr. z-a' (l. 228)²⁷, in the third line above that of Hermophantos, a name begins with a vertical stroke, which Köhler²⁸ read as l- and interpreted as Ἡ. After the lacuna an end-sigma can be recognized, followed by the number two (II). According to O'Connor²⁹ the name can be completed as Ἡ[γησία]ς³⁰, who would have been victorious as comic actor in Athens (at the *Lenaia*)³¹ some years before Hermophantos (c. 248 BC?). In this way both names

Tatsachen rechnet»; A. WILHELM, *Urkunden*, p. 254, approved Preuner's rejection of Capps' dating of the Samian list *CIG* 3091 to the 3rd cent. BC.

Wilhelm (p. 254) found further proof to date *CIG* 3091 to the 2nd and not the 3rd cent. BC in an inscription published by T. WIEGAND – U. VON WILAMOWITZ-MOELLENDORFF, *Ein Gesetz von Samos über die Beschaffung von Brotkorn aus öffentlichen Mitteln*, in *SPAW* 1904, p. 917-931, and dated by Wilamowitz to the beginning of the 2nd cent.; part B contains a list of voluntary contributors and reads in l. 37-38: Διογένης Ὑβλησίου ὑπὲρ αὐ[τοῦ καὶ τῶν υἱῶν] Ὑβλησίου καὶ Θρασύλλου τε[τρακοσίας] (sc. δράχμας), who may be related to the Ὑβλήσιος Θ[ρασύλλου], mentioned in *CIG* 3091, l. 2 (cf. preceding note).

²⁴ Cf. Wilhelm's conclusion (*Urkunden*, p. 155): «Es kann aber auch in der samischen Inschrift eben dieser Satyros [sc. of *CIG* 3068] genannt und ihr Hermophantos ein jüngerer Träger des Namen sein. Die Frage bleibt offen, bis der Stein wieder zutage kommt oder gesicherte Identifikationen seine Zeit bestimmen». Cf. J.B. O'CONNOR, *Actors*, p. 95 nos. 181-182, who thought that the Hermophantoi of *IG* II 977 and *CIG* 3091 were probably not identical, since he accepted that *CIG* 3091 was to be dated about the middle of the 2nd cent. BC, as does P. GHIRON-BISTAGNE, *Acteurs*, p. 324. H.J. METTE, *op. cit.* (n. 7), p. 219, also prints a question mark after this identification.

²⁵ Cf. M. BONARIA, art. *Hegesias* (7a), in *RE Suppl.* X (1965), col. 244.

²⁶ See J.B. O'CONNOR, *Actors*, no. 209

²⁷ Cf. J.B. O'CONNOR, *Actors*, no. 209; *Pros. Ptol.* V 17001; H.J. METTE, *op. cit.* (n. 7), VC2, col. 6, l. 14; I.E. STEFANIS, *op. cit.* (n. 7), no. 1244.

²⁸ *MDAI(A)* 3 (1878), p. 243 and *IG* II 2, p. 410; cf. n. 8.

²⁹ *Actors*, p. 98. Adopted by M. BONARIA, *art. cit.* (n. 25) and P. GHIRON-BISTAGNE, *Acteurs*, p. 54, 327; *Pros. Ptol.* VI 17001 follows them cautiously.

³⁰ It is not very clear from Wilhelm's plate whether there is space enough to read ΗΓΗΣΙΑΣ; personally I am rather doubtful.

³¹ Cf. n. 11.

would have appeared together, just as in the Athenaios-passage. But it is clear that such a reading is very hypothetical³².

1.2.2.2. In *SGDI* 2563, l. 58 = *Syll.*³ 424, l. 68³³, the first of the four Soteria-inscriptions³⁴, we read³⁵ Ἡγησίῳ Ἀθηναῖος as the second of the three κωμῳδοί of the third group that participated in the Soteria in Delphi in the year concerned. On palaeographical grounds the inscriptions were dated c. 275-250 BC³⁶. Since they were found next to each other, scholars generally accept their chronological order. On the basis of internal criteria (the mention of the eponymous archons of Delphi) the first list can be dated to 272 or 268 BC³⁷. So one of the comic

³² Thus I.E. STEFANIS, *op. cit.* (n. 7), p. 226, is cautious in identifying this H(egesias) with the one mentioned by Athenaios (his no. 1055).

³³ See J.B. O'CONNOR, *Actors*, no. 558; H.J. METTE, *op. cit.* (n. 7), IID2a, l. 69; I.E. STEFANIS, *op. cit.* (n. 7), no. 2829; not in *Pros. Ptol.* VI 17001. The inscription was first published by C. WESCHER – P. FOUCART, *Inscriptions recueillies à Delphes*, Paris 1863, no. 3, l. 59.

³⁴ These four inscriptions were found in Delphi, on the polygonal southern wall of the terrace which supported the temple of Apollo Pythios. Each mentions the eponymous archon of Delphi, the priest, nine *hieromnemones*, followed by the participants (οἶδε ἡγωνίσαντο τὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν Σωτηρίων, thus both winners and their rivals) in the musical and scenical contests: ῥαψῳδοί, κιθαρισταί, κιθαρωδοί, παῖδες χορευταί, ἄνδρες χορευταί, their αὐληταί and διδάσκαλοι, and then several groups of τραγωδοί and κωμῳδοί, with in each group three actors, an αὐλητής and a διδάσκαλος, the χορευταί of the comedies, and the costumers (ἱματιομίσθαι).

The Σωτήρια were annual celebrations for the gods Apollo Pythios and Zeus Soter, founded after the repulsion of the Gallic invasion led by Brennos in (November) 279 BC against the sanctuary of Delphi. The initiative for the founding was taken by the Aetolians (who had a great part in the victory) in 277/6, and accepted by several Greek cities, so the festivities were Panhellenic. They would have been celebrated for the first time in 276 and were organized by the council of the amphictyony; see F. PFISTER, art. *Soteria* (2), in *RE* IIIA 1 (1927), col. 1221-1231. Although the acceptance decrees of several cities speak of a quinquennial festival, it seems from these four inscriptions that (at least at some moment) it became annual. The contests were both sporting and musical-scenic, but only the second aspect is attested in the inscriptions.

³⁵ J. BAUNACK, *SGDI* 2563, p. 742: «Stein zerbrochen, darum Lücke unberechenbar»; according to H. POMTOW, *Syll.*³ 424, p. 668, 11 letters are missing.

³⁶ H. POMTOW, *Fasti Delphici* I. *Die Archontate der Amphiktyonendecrete des dritten Jahrhunderts vor Chr.*, 1. *Die Amphiktyonendecrete*, in *JCPH* 40 (1894), p. 503 and 506.

³⁷ No. 1: Ἀρισταγόρας, no. 2: Ἐμμενίδας, no. 3: Νικόδαμος, no. 4: Κλεώνδας. So during the period 275-250 BC these archons must have ruled one after the other. Since we know from another inscription (*CIG* 1689b = *SGDI* 2507 = *Syll.*³ 436) that Nikodamos was archon during a Pythian year, we have to think of the years 270-266-262-258 BC. H. POMTOW, art. cit., 2. *Die Datierung der Archontate*, in *JCPH* 43 (1897), p. 819, first proposed the year 270, so the four archons would have succeeded each other as follows: Aristagoras in 272, Emmenides in 271, Nikodamos in the Pythian year 270, and Kleondas in 269 BC, the first list thus dating from the year 272. This was accepted by J. BAUNACK,

actors who participated in the Delphic Soteria of that year was an Athenian whose name we do not know, and who was the son of a Hegesias. Whether there was any relation between this Hegesias and the one mentioned by Athenaios cannot be proved, but chronologically it may be possible: if we accept that the Hegesias of Athenaios was active about the middle of the 3rd cent. BC (cf. 1.2.1.1 on Hermophantos, 1.2.2.1 on Hegesias), he may have been the grandson of the Hegesias of the Soterian inscription, whose son won at Delphi in 272/268 BC³⁸.

1.3. The conclusion of this first chapter must be formulated very cautiously. As for Hermophantos: he may be identified with the comic actor of *IG* II-III² 2325, l. 231, as victor (at the *Lenaia*) about the middle of the 3rd cent. BC, which seems to fit well with the 'Alexandrian sphere' of the Athenaios passage. The identification with the ὑποκριτῆς Ἑρμόφαντος of *CIG* 3091, l. 5, is very hypothetical, since the problem of chronology cannot be clarified. As for Hegesias, the reconstruction of his name in *IG* II-III² 2325, l. 228, is very tempting, but cannot be proved; the Soteria-inscription may mention Hegesias' father and grandfather, but this too is mere hypothesis. So we have to look for other data from Athenaios' text that can confirm our most likely date, the middle of the 3rd century BC.

II. THE GREAT THEATRE AT ALEXANDRIA

As to the geographical location of the performance spoken of by Iason, Athenaios' text is not unambiguously clear. There are two indications: From the phrase ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ θεάτρῳ we know that the recital(s) took place in public, in a theatre. The words ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ, by their syntactical position (before the verb φησὶν and far from ὑποκρίνασθαι) do not, at first sight, refer automatically to the place of the recitation. Nevertheless, there are good reasons not to interpret these words as

SGDI 2563, p. 675 and 742, J.B. O'CONNOR, *Actors*, p. 98 and 143, and M. BONARIA, *art. cit.* (n. 25), col. 244. H. POMTOW later changed his mind (*GGA* 1913, p.150-151 and 178-179) and preferred to date the archontates some years later: 268-265 BC, reaffirmed in *Delphische Neufunde*, I. *Zur delphischen Archontentafel des III. Jhdts. (Neue Soterien- und Amphiktyonen-Texte)*, in *Klio* 14 (1915), p. 283 and 305, and *Syll.*³ 424, p. 664-665; he was followed by F. PFISTR, *art. cit.* (n. 34), col. 1227.

³⁸ Cf. J.B. O'CONNOR, *Actors*, p. 98 and 143; I.E. STEFANIS, *op. cit.* (n. 7), p. 485, does not make the link. M. BONARIA, *art. cit.* (n. 25), col. 244, is too hasty in accepting the relationship as if it were an indisputable fact.

belonging to the title of Iason's work: (1) the first place-indication (ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ θεάτρῳ) only makes sense when accompanied by a further specification, viz. the name of the city where the great theatre was located; (2) a work Περὶ τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου ἱερῶν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ consisting of at least 3 books seems very improbable³⁹. Therefore we may be almost certain that the performance by Hegesias and Hermophantos reported in our text took place in the Great Theatre of Alexandria⁴⁰. The deviation from the 'normal' syntactic order — one would expect ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ after ἐν μεγάλῳ θεάτρῳ — can be due to stylistic

³⁹ That an author limits the theme of his work to one city is of course not impossible in itself. Thus we know for Dikaiarchos a title Περὶ τῆς ἐν Ἰλίῳ θυσίας (also on Alexander the Great), cited by Athen. XIII 603a-b (Wehrli F23); here the words ἐν Ἰλίῳ undoubtedly belong, because of their position, to the title. As for Iason's work, the source-indication ἐν τρίτῳ περὶ τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου ἱερῶν (ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ?) is not very clear: (1) Some scholars think Athenaios meant the 3rd book of Iason's work Περὶ τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου ἱερῶν (e.g. C.B. GULICK, *Athenaeus* VI, p. 341). But a work in at least three books about the ἱερά — on the meaning of this word, see ch. 3 — of Alexander the Great does not seem very probable (cf. F. JACOBY, *art. cit.* [n. 1], col. 780), *a fortiori* if one would enlarge the title with the words ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ. Cf. P.M. FRASER, *PA* II, p. 66 n. 151. (2) Perhaps we have to understand it as follows: «Iason, in the 3rd book (of his larger work), entitled *On the* (...)». In this case the words ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ cannot *a priori* be excluded from the (sub)title. Several scholars who identified Iason with Iason of Nysa indeed thought the Περὶ τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου ἱερῶν might have been a part of the Βίος Ἑλλάδος, attributed to him by the Suda (cf. n. 1) and Steph. Byz., s.v. Ἀλεξανδρεία; so do M. FUHR, *Dicaearchi Messenii quae supersunt*, Darmstadii 1841, p. 95-96 n. 4 and 115 n. 5, and F. JACOBY, *art. cit.* (n. 1), col. 780. We can even go further: if we accept that the title Βίος Ἑλλάδος, assigned by the Suda to Iason of Nysa, and the Περὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος, assigned by the Suda to Iason of Argos (cf. n. 1), and for which the chronological structure of the four books is given, are one and the same work, the Suda having mixed up several Iasones (cf. n. 1, and F. FUNAIOLI, *art. cit.* [n. 1], col. 781), the Περὶ τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου ἱερῶν might have been a part of the third book dealing precisely with *τά τε κατ' Ἀλέξανδρον ἕως τελευτῆς αὐτοῦ*.

A parallel may be found in the above-mentioned work of Dikaiarchos: the Περὶ τῆς ἐν Ἰλίῳ θυσίας too might have been a part of this author's Βίος Ἑλλάδος. Fuhr (p. 85) rightly describes the contents of Dikaiarchos' work Βίος Ἑλλάδος very extensively: «(...) opere de antiquissimo statu quum universi generis humani tum praesertim populi Graeci, de historicis rebus et ad Graeciam et ad alias terras pertinentibus, et conjunctim cum historia de chronologicis rationibus, de geographicis Graeciae proportionibus, de artibus et litteris et de moribus et ritibus Graecorum (...)». In a similar work by Iason the passage quoted by Athenaios may fit very well.

⁴⁰ None of the scholars and translators I consulted regarded these words as part of the title; cf. the translations by U. & K. TREU, *Athenaios von Naukratis, Das Gelehrtenmahl*. Aus dem Griechischen (*Sammlung Dieterich*, 329), Leipzig 1987², p. 382: «im großen Theater von Alexandria», and C.B. GULICK, *Athenaeus* VI, p. 341: «in the great theatre at Alexandria»; cf. A. MEINEKE, *Athenaei Deipnosophistae*, III. *Continens lib. XIII-XV-Summaria et indices*, Lipsiae 1859, in the *Index rerum*, p. 357 s.v. Hegesias: «in theatro Alexandrino», and p. 360 s.v. Hermophantus: «in theatro (...) Alexandriae».

reasons, namely a wish to avoid that two ἐν-phrases would directly follow one another.

Our knowledge of the Alexandrian theatre(s) is rather meagre. First of all, it is not clear whether there was only one theatre or more, as the attributive *μεγάλω* may suggest. Since we do not have any proof (apart perhaps from our passage) for the existence of more than one theatre⁴¹ (at the same time) in Alexandria, almost all scholars speak of 'the Alexandrian theatre', assigning all the literary sources mentioning a theatre in Alexandria to the same building⁴². I will give here a brief overview of these testimonia, but it should be kept in mind that not all of them necessarily refer to the 'Great Theatre' referred to by Iason⁴³. From the texts it might be concluded that there was already a theatre in Alexandria by the end of the 3rd cent. BC at the latest, since it is mentioned in Polybios' description of the revolt against Agathokles, the 'regent' of Ptolemy V

⁴¹ In two sources the plural form *θέατρα* is used: Sozom., *Hist. eccl.* VII 20 and Nikeph. Kallist., *Hist. eccl.* XII 37 (the plural in XV 8 rather seems to imply 'spectacles' than 'theatre-(buildings)'). For the archaeological remains of a late Roman theatre-like building, see n. 55.

⁴² Few scholars speak of theatres in plural: P.M. FRASER, *PA* I, p. 23, the «'Great Theatre', and one or more smaller ones (...), as we know to have been the case in the late Roman period [cf. *infra*]»; S. DARIS, *Lo spettacolo nei papiri greci*, in *Aevum(ant)* 1 (1988), p. 77 n. 1, speaks of «i teatri di Alessandria».

Apart from our text and the passages referred to in the following commentary, the Alexandrian theatre is also mentioned (but without special interest for its location or other peculiarities) by several early Christian and Byzantine authors. A list of all these passages can be found in A. CALDERINI, *Dizionario dei nomi geografici e topografici dell'Egitto greco-romano*, I 1: *A-ΑΙΚΑΡΝΑΣΣΕΥΣ*, Cairo 1935, p. 114-115 + *add.* xii, sub *Ἀλεξάνδρεια* – *θέατρον* (one passage he cites, Herod. IV 8.9, does not deal with the theatre).

As far as I know, no epigraphic or papyrological documents on Alexandrian theatre(s) have been found; cf. S. DARIS, *art. cit.*, p. 77 n. 1; in general he rightly writes (p. 78) that the Ptolemaic period is «avarissimo di informazioni»; on p. 78-81 he comments on the scarce papyrus documentation we have on other Hellenistic and Roman theatres.

On the Alexandrian theatre see also G. LUMBROSO, *L'Egitto al tempo dei Greci e dei Romani*, Roma 1882, p. 107ff.; O. PUCHSTEIN, *art. Alexandria* (1), in *RE* I 1 (1893), col. 1384-1385; A. ADRIANI, *Annuario del Museo Greco-Romano*, vol. 1. 1932-1933, Alessandria 1934, p. 16-18; A. BERNAND, *Alexandrie la Grande (Signe des temps)*, 19), Paris 1966, p. 140ff.; P.M. FRASER, *PA*, esp. I, p. 23, and II, p. 63-66 n. 148-152.

⁴³ Even though one might think that since no special indication is given in those testimonia they automatically refer to the most important theatre, which was a central place in public life. Cf. P.M. FRASER, *PA* I, p. 23, who believes the testimonies of Strabo and Caesar (cf. *infra*) also relate to this Great Theatre; personally I think the testimony of Polybios does so as well, since the theatre seems to have been connected with the Royal Palace (cf. *infra*).

Epiphanes, in 205/203⁴⁴. It was located in the neighbourhood of the royal residence (the Βασιλεία), to the south⁴⁵, and therefore not far from the sea⁴⁶. There was a gallery between the *Maiandros* (probably one of the royal gardens) and the *palaistra*, leading to the entrance of the theatre. It was still connected with a part of the royal palaces when Caesar arrived in Alexandria in 48 BC⁴⁷. In Roman imperial times the theatre continued to serve as a central meeting place in public life, not only to accommodate cultural manifestations — the Alexandrians were fond of *kitharodia* — but more than once to launch riots⁴⁸. The theatre is also attested in some Christian historiographical and hagiographical works, several of them dealing with the 4th cent. AD⁴⁹. Finally, we know from the 9th-century Byzantine chronographer Theophanes⁵⁰ that the building collapsed during the Nile-festivities in 428 AD, causing 572 deaths.

So to situate the (great) theatre, we must look for it in the vicinity of the Βασιλεία. But here the archaeologocial evidence is not that clear. In 1934 Adriani⁵¹ reported on excavations that brought to light some

⁴⁴ Polyb. XV 30.4 (where the theatre is called Διονυσιακόν) and 6. For the problematic dating of these events, see F.W. WALBANK, *A Historical Commentary on Polybius*, II. *Commentary on Books VII-XVIII*, Oxford 1967, p. 435-437.

⁴⁵ So also Strab. XVII 1.9 (C794), in his description of Alexandria.

⁴⁶ Caes., *Bell. civ.* III 112.8 says the theatre had approaches to the port.

⁴⁷ See preceding note.

⁴⁸ Thus we know from Philon, *In Flaccum* 41, 74, 95, that the theatre was several times the centre of tumult and rebellion under the prefect Flaccus (32-37 AD). Dio Chrysostomos' famous oration to the Alexandrians (*Or.* 32) contains a complaint against the debauched performances of *kitharodes* and the misbehaviour of the audience, which more than once seems to have resulted in riots (§71-72); from §51 we may even conclude that soldiers were regularly stationed in the theatre during performances; cf. C.P. JONES, *The Roman World of Dio Chrysostom* (*Loeb Classical Monographs*), Cambridge (MA)-London 1978, p. 41-42. The theatre is explicitly mentioned in §4, 41, and 74. According to some scholars Dio may even have delivered this oration (under Vespasian or Trajan) in the Alexandrian theatre itself; thus H.L. CROSBY, *Dio Chrysostom III* (*Loeb Classical Library*), p. 171 and 196 n. 1. But this cannot really be deduced from the text (unless from §35, where ἐνθάδε may refer to the theatre?), nor from external elements.

⁴⁹ Pallad. *Helenop.*, *Hist. Laus.* 26.4 (*PG* 34, col. 1091) and Herakl. Nyss., *Parad.* 14 (*PL* 74, col. 292), both in the story of Heron; Sokrat., *Hist. eccles.* VII 13, and Sozom., *Hist. eccles.* VII 20; Sim. Metaphr., *Vita S. Menae* (*PG* 116, col. 367-416, *passim*) and *Vita S. Eugeniae* (*PG* 116, col. 632); Nikeph. Kallist., *Hist. eccles.* XII 37 (on the pagan reaction to an extreme inundation of the Nile), XIV 14 (about troubles on the occasion of the succession of Theophilos by Kyrillos as patriarch), and XV 8 (an Alexandrian riot under the Roman administrator Florus) (resp. *PG* 146, col. 876, 1101-1102; 147, col. 29).

⁵⁰ Theophan., *Chronogr.* 80 (*PG* 108, col. 244); this note was taken over by Georgius Cedrenus (11th cent.), *Hist. comp.* I 599 (*PG* 121, col. 652).

⁵¹ A. ADRIANI, *op. cit.* (n. 42), p. 11-18.

Hellenistic remains in what had been the quarter of the *Βασιλεία*, on the hill where the Government Hospital now lies, along the street of Alexander the Great. While Adriani himself was very cautious⁵² — only at the end of his report did he raise the possibility that the remains he discovered might be connected with the *syrinx* we know from Polybios — many scholars after him took his hypothesis for granted and believed that the Alexandrian theatre had been found⁵³. Nevertheless we have to admit with Fraser⁵⁴ that these archaeological remains are inconclusive: none of the Ptolemaic remains found there proves without doubt the existence of a theatre⁵⁵.

To conclude this paragraph we can say that our Iason fragment may extend our knowledge of the age of the Alexandrian theatre. Indeed, if we except the dating of the two actors as given above (in combination with the occasion on which they were performing, cf. *infra*, ch. 3), this

⁵² P. 16: «ma per il momento ogni fondato tentativo di identificare con uno di questi edifici le rovine scoperte é impossibile e sarebbe del resto prematuro»; p. 18 (after the hypothesis of the *syrinx*): «Ma troppo scarsi sono gli elementi raccolti finora e troppo ancora resta da lavorare al piccone perchè si possa affermarlo».

⁵³ Cf. P.M. FRASER, *PA* I, p. 23-24; for a list of scholars thinking so, see II, p. 64 n. 149.

⁵⁴ P.M. FRASER, *PA* II, p. 64-65 n. 149-150; cf. p. 61-62 n. 144.

⁵⁵ The late Roman remains of a theatre-like building discovered south of the hill Kôm el-Dikka (the excavations started in 1964/5) can hardly be meant in our passage. S. DARIS, *Supplemento 2°* (1987-1996) [supplement to A. CALDERINI, *Dizionario dei nomi geografici e topografici dell'Egitto greco-romano*, I-V, Cairo-Madrid-Milano 1935-1983], Bonn 1996, p. 12, in his supplement to the above-mentioned work of Calderini, refers rather misleadingly, under the same lemma Ἀλεξανδρεία – θέατρον, to two articles on the remains of this Roman theatre-like building: E. MAKOWIECKA, *The Numbering of the Seating Places at the Roman Theatre of Kom el-Dikka in Alexandria*, in C.S. KUMANIECKI (ed.), *Acta Conventus XI 'Eirene' diebus XXI-XXV mensis octobris anni MCMLXVIII habiti*, Wratislaviae e.a. 1971, p. 479-483, and W. KOLATAJ, *Recherches architectoniques dans les thermes et le théâtre de Kôm el-Dikka à Alexandrie*, in *Das römisch-byzantinische Ägypten*. Akten des internationalen Symposions 26.-30. September 1978 in Trier (*Aegyptiaca Treverensia*, 2), Mainz 1983, p. 187-194. It is for several reasons clear that this building cannot be identified with the theatre we are looking for: (1) it seems to be «many times smaller than any Greek or Roman theatre» (Malowiecka, p. 481), accommodating perhaps only 500 persons (id., p. 478); so it cannot be called τὸ μέγα θέατρον; (2) it seems to be late Roman (early Christian and Byzantine), built in several phases (cf. Kolataj, p. 189-190): second half 5th–beginning 6th cent. AD); (3) the function of this building is not indisputably clear: Malowiecka reflects upon the hypotheses of *odeon*, *buleuterion*, or lecture-hall of a *gymnasion* or bath-complex, «where many kinds of poetry and musical performance could have taken place», concluding that «these possibilities (...) are not mutually exclusive» (p. 482); according to Kolataj only the two first construction phases could have served as (small) theatre or *odeon*. See also P.M. FRASER, *PA* I, p. 17, 29, and II, p. 62 n. 144, 94 n. 211.

would mean that the theatre already existed by the mid-3rd cent. BC, and thus could have been built under Ptolemy II Philadelphos, one of the great builders of cultural Alexandria.

III. THE OCCASION OF THE PERFORMANCE BY HEGESIAS AND HERMOPHANTOS

La determinazione dell'occasione nella quale la *performance* di Hegesias ed Hermophantos avrebbe avuto luogo, che è connessa in qualche modo con l'interpretazione del titolo stesso dell'opera di Iason, merita sicuramente di essere approfondita più di quanto sia stato finora fatto.

Nella traduzione latina del Daléchamp, che affianca l'edizione di Ateneo del Casaubon⁵⁶, il titolo Περί τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου Ἱερῶν è reso con *De Alexandri sacrificiis* e a questo tipo di interpretazione sembrerebbe inclinare anche il Gulick che, mentre lo traduce *On the Divine Honours to Alexander*, poi in nota osserva: «The meaning of the title is very uncertain» e richiama uno scritto di Dicearco Περί τῆς ἐν Ἰλίῳ θυσίας, citato da Ateneo a 603a-b⁵⁷.

Il Fraser⁵⁸, riprendendo una proposta del Toup, già criticata dallo Schweighäuser⁵⁹, non ha dubbi che il titolo si riferisca ai templi di (cioè dedicati a) Alessandro Magno.

Ora, che nella capitale del regno tolemaico, come e più che altrove, fosse vivo il culto di Alessandro come divinità e come fondatore, è abbastanza ovvio⁶⁰. Tuttavia i significati proposti per il titolo in questione non aiuterebbero a chiarire il rapporto fra il tema dell'opera e la notizia

⁵⁶ I. CASAUBON – I. DALÉCHAMP, *Athenaei Deipnosophistarum libri XV*. I. Casaubon recensuit et ex antiquis membranarum supplevit auxitque. (...) Addita est I. Dalechampii Latina interpretatio cum notis marginalibus, Heidelberg 1597. A tale interpretazione aderirono anche M. FUHR, *op. cit.* (n. 39), p. 115 n. 5; C. MÜLLER, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 160.

⁵⁷ C.B. GULICK, *Athenaeus* VI, p. 341.

⁵⁸ P.M. FRASER, *PA* II, p. 66 n. 151 al cap. I.

⁵⁹ I. SCHWEIGHAEUSER, *Animadversiones in Athenaei Deipnosophistas post Isaacum Casaubonum* VII, Argentorati 1805, p. 372: «Titulum libri Iasonis inepte a Dalecampio de Alexandri sacrificiis reddi ait Toupus, in *Notis ad Theocr. Scholia*, 220, cum de *Alexandri templis* debuisset. Nobis non satis liquet».

⁶⁰ P.M. FRASER, *PA* I, p. 212; II, p. 360s. (note). Sul culto di Alessandro Magno sia come fondatore che come divinità, cf. A.D. NOCK, *Notes on Ruler-Cult*, I-IV, in *JHS* 48 (1928), p. 21-43 (= *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World*, ed. by Z. Stewart, Oxford 1972, I, p. 134-159, e L. CERFAUX – J. TONDRIAU, *Un concurrent du Christianisme. Le culte des souverains dans la civilisation gréco-romaine* (Bibliothèque de théologie, S. III.5), Tournai 1957, p. 125-143, 189-193.

fornita da Iason e soprattutto la circostanza nella quale la *performance* ricordata dal nostro autore sarebbe avvenuta. Sembra allora preferibile accogliere proprio il suggerimento di Schweighäuser («τὰ ἱερὰ ... possint esse *Solemnia sacra in Alexandri honorem celebrata*») e mettere in relazione l'espressione con la celebrazione dei *Ptolemaia*, la festa penteterica che sappiamo istituita da Tolemeo II Philadelphos intorno al 280/279 a.C.⁶¹, sulla quale ci illumina un lunghissimo fr. di Kallixeinos di Rodi, trasmesso dallo stesso Ateneo (196a-203b = *FGrHist* 627 F2).

Il passo descrive la festa fissando l'attenzione quasi esclusivamente su una parte di essa, la πομπή, nella quale ha notevole rilievo il corteo dionisiaco, che attesta l'interesse dei Tolemei per il culto di Dioniso, connesso con quello di Alessandro, e inoltre l'intenzione del re di presentarsi come promotore e protettore della cultura: e nel corteo non mancano i Διονύσου τεχνῖται, guidati dal poeta Filisco.

Benché le altre parti della festa siano nella descrizione soltanto accennate, vi sono pochi dubbi che essa dovesse essere una tradizionale festa religiosa greca, con il complesso di πομπή, θυσία, ἐστίασις e con l'aggiunta di un ἀγών⁶². Una tale festa potrebbe certamente essere indicata come τὰ ἱερὰ per la sua caratterizzazione religiosa⁶³ ed essere altresì intesa come dedicata ad Alessandro Magno: nella πομπή la sua statua viene portata accanto a quella del Sotèr (201d) e verso la fine del corteo (202a) ancora una statua d'oro di Alessandro, posta fra quelle di Nike ed Atena, viene trasportata su un carro tirato da elefanti, con evidente connessione fra il culto del sovrano e quello di Dioniso, raffigurato in trionfante ritorno dall'India.

Benché non sia possibile precisare l'anno in cui la festa con la nostra rappresentazione si sarebbe svolta, questi elementi, insieme con la considerazione che gli spettacoli teatrali del mondo greco si svolgevano tradizionalmente in connessione con le festività, che erano, almeno in origine, sempre di carattere religioso, fanno sì che i *Ptolemaia* siano la cornice, se non certa, almeno molto probabile della *performance* di cui parla Iason⁶⁴.

⁶¹ Cf. H. VOLKMANN, art. *Ptolemaia*, in *RE* XXIII 2 (1959), col. 1578-1590; É. WILL, *Histoire politique du monde hellénistique* (323-30 av. J.-C.), I, Nancy 1979², p. 202-203.

⁶² Cf. C. WIKANDER, *Pomp and Circumstance. The Procession of Ptolemaios II*, in *OAth* 19 (1992), p. 143-150. Sulla struttura della festa greca in generale si veda, da ultimo, C. CALAME, *Feste, riti e forme poetiche*, in *I Greci*, a cura di S. SETTIS, vol. II 1, Torino 1996, p. 471-496, in particolare 476-480, con bibliografia precedente.

⁶³ Cf. *LSJ*, s.v. ἱερός, III 1c: «rites».

⁶⁴ Il patrocinio offerto da Tolemeo II alle arti dionisiache è testimoniato anche da Teocrito, per es. *Id.* XVII 112-114 (Οὐδὲ Διωνύσου τις ἀνὴρ ἱεροῦς κατ' ἀγῶνας

IV. WHAT DID THE COMEDIAN HEGESIAS RECITE?

4.1. In apertura di questo articolo la testimonianza di Iason è stata presentata nel testo fornito dalla tradizione manoscritta, che però gli editori di Ateneo, e con loro gli altri studiosi che si sono occupati del passo, generalmente non hanno ritenuto affidabile per quanto riguarda la presenza del nome di Erodoto, per il quale, come si legge nell'apparato del Gulick, sono state proposte due correzioni: Ἡρώνδου, suggerita dal Crusius⁶⁵, ed Ἡσιόδου, proposta dal Valckenaer⁶⁶ e, forse indipendentemente, dal Meineke⁶⁷.

L'emendamento del Crusius non ha avuto, per la verità, molta fortuna, benché esso sembri presentare il duplice vantaggio di essere paleograficamente più vicino al testo tradito e di introdurre il nome di un autore più 'teatrale' rispetto a Erodoto.

L'ipotesi di uno scambio Eroda/Erodoto è invero assai verosimile, dal momento che tale confusione meccanica si è sicuramente verificata in

ἵκετ' ἐπιστάμενος λιγυρὰν ἀναμέλῃαι αἰοιδᾶν, ᾧ οὐ δοτῖναν ἀντάξιον ὥπασε τέχνας) e *Id.* XV, in cui viene descritto un *recital*, che si tiene nel palazzo reale in occasione delle feste di Adone. Si veda pure la testimonianza di Vitruvio, *de archit.* VII, *praef.* 4: *Ptolemaeus... Musis et Apollini ludos dedicavit et quemadmodum athletarum, sic communium scriptorum victoribus praemia et honores constituit*, che secondo la maggior parte degli studiosi si riferisce proprio al Filadelfo.

A proposito della recita omerica di Ermofanto, G. NAGY, *Poetry as Performance. Homer and Beyond*, Cambridge 1996, p. 161s., invoca il confronto con quella di cui riferisce Plut., *Quaest. conv.* 73E-F, che avrebbe avuto luogo in occasione delle nozze di Tolemeo II con sua sorella Arsinoe. L'accostamento potrebbe soltanto confermare la prassi delle recite durante il regno del Filadelfo, del resto già ben attestata, ma non ritengo possa fornire un'indicazione per la circostanza della recita di cui parla Ateneo, dal momento che il titolo dell'opera di Iason, il riferimento al luogo (il grande teatro) e la possibile datazione dei due attori menzionati fanno pensare ad un'occasione diversa. Piuttosto nel passo plutarcheo si potrebbe celare un'allusione alla vicenda del poeta Sotade, il quale in un carme composto per quelle nozze regali, ritenute incestuose, espresse aperto e violento biasimo, probabilmente ricorrendo proprio al paragone con l'unione di Zeus ed Era, dèi fratelli. Su questo argomento cf. R. PRETAGOSTINI, *Ricerche sulla poesia alessandrina. Teocrito, Callimaco, Sotade*, Roma 1984, p. 139-147.

⁶⁵ O. CRUSIUS, *Herondae Mimiambi. Novis fragmentis adiectis* (...). Editio minor quinta aucta et correcta (*Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana*), Lipsiae 1914, p. 3-4.

⁶⁶ Cf. S.P. PEPPINK, *Observationes in Athenaei Deipnosophistas* (...), Lugduni Bataavorum 1936, p. 85, il quale si era avvalso delle note inedite del Valckenaer, conservate nella Biblioteca dell'Accademia di Leiden.

⁶⁷ Meineke, che nel testo della sua edizione di Ateneo (III 117), scrive τὰ Ἡσιόδου, negli *Analecta* (IV 297), presentando il testo tradito, commenta: «Parum mihi credibile videtur Herodoti historias in theatro actas esse, quae res tam mihi mira visa est, ut Herodoto Hesiodi nomen substituere non dubitaverim».

Etym. M. 411.43, dove viene attribuito ad Erodoto l'uso del termine ζήτρειον, che va invece riferito ad Eroda V 32: poiché il verso viene parzialmente citato dall'etimologista, l'errore di attribuzione in questo caso è evidente e la correzione indiscutibile.

Analogo scambio si suppone anche per Poll. II 152, dove Erodoto viene menzionato a proposito del termine χειροπέδη, ed in Zenob. VI 47 (καὶ Ἡρόδοτος δὲ Κολοφώνιον καλεῖ τὸν ἄριστον χρυσόν): in entrambi i casi il riferimento ad Erodoto non trova riscontro⁶⁸.

Anche per uno scambio Esiodo/Erodoto, che è quello ipotizzato nel caso della correzione più fortunata⁶⁹, non mancano esempi.

In Aristot., *H.A.* 601b, nella maggior parte dei manoscritti si trova un riferimento ad Esiodo, della cui esattezza sembra legittimo dubitare, tant'è che il passo costituisce il fr. 364 Merkelbach-West, incluso fra gli *Spuria*. In questo caso il ramo β della tradizione manoscritta del testo aristotelico, rappresentato essenzialmente dal cod. Vat. gr. 262, di cui gli altri manoscritti sono apografi, scrive Ἡρόδοτος. Nonostante gli editori esiodei annotino qui «... sed non est Herodoti», il riferimento allo storico di Alicarnasso potrebbe essere più motivato di quello ad Esiodo: nel passo in questione si tratta infatti dell'assedio di Ninive, cui Erodoto accenna esplicitamente in I 106.2, con la promessa di trattare l'argomento in altra sede⁷⁰.

Fra gli altri casi in cui il nome di Esiodo sembra erroneamente trädito è opportuno qui ricordare Strab. I 3.18 (= Hesiod., fr. spur. 368 M.-W.),

⁶⁸ Cf. F. BOSSI *ap.* E. DEGANI, *Studi su Ipponatte*, Bari 1984, p. 287; E. DEGANI, *Hipponax. Testimonia et fragmenta*, Stuttgart-Leipzig 1991², p. 160. Su questi casi e, più in generale, su tutta la questione degli errori di attribuzione si veda R. TOSI, *Studi sulla tradizione indiretta dei classici greci*, Bologna 1988, in particolare p. 101-103.

Nel passo di Polluce l'errore potrebbe forse essere stato causato dal fatto che poco dopo, sempre nello stesso contesto, cioè a proposito dei composti di χεῖρ, Erodoto viene citato, in modo corretto, altre due volte (II 153 = Hdt. VI 129; II 154 = Hdt. V 106); per Zenobio altri pensa allo storico Heropythos (cf. *FGrHist* 448 F2; v. anche Aristoph., fr. 366 K.-A.).

⁶⁹ L'emendamento Ἡσιόδου ha goduto della pressoché generale accettazione da parte degli studiosi, che anche recentemente e a vario titolo si sono occupati di questa testimonianza. Soltanto G. NAGY, *op. cit.* (n. 64), che discute tutta la pagina di Athen. 620b-d, annota: «Valckenaer emends, maybe unnecessarily, from Ἡροδότου» (p. 158).

⁷⁰ Hdt. I 106.2: Μῆδοι ... καὶ τήν τε Νίνον εἶλον (ὥς δὲ εἶλον, ἐν ἑτέροισι λόγοισι δηλώσω). Con quest'espressione Erodoto sembra alludere ai «*logoi* assiri», menzionati anche a I 184.2, in cui si proponeva evidentemente di trattare la conquista medo-babilonese di Ninive. Sul problema si veda D. ASHERI, *Erodoto. Le Storie*, libro I. *La Lidia e la Persia*, Milano 1988, comm. *ad loc.*

dove il Koraes suggeriva di leggere Ἡρόδοτος⁷¹, nonché Plin., *N.H.* XV 3 (= Hesiod., fr. 347 M.-W., inserito fra i *Dubia*)⁷².

Gli esempi, che qui ho rapidamente ricordato, stanno a testimoniare che confusioni fra i nomi di Erodoto, Esiodo, Eroda (come, del resto, di altri autori) sono sicuramente avvenute nella tradizione manoscritta e quindi non sarebbe ingiustificato ipotizzare una analoga eventualità anche nel passo di Ateneo, di cui ci stiamo occupando.

Osserverei tuttavia che nei casi segnalati si tratta di citazioni, più o meno testuali, o di allusioni ad un testo, per le quali la possibilità di un riscontro diventa evidentemente fattore discriminante, mentre in Ateneo il nome di Erodoto viene ritenuto sospetto, perché menzionato in relazione ad un evento, che pregiudizialmente si ritiene non riferibile allo storico.

La correzione Ἡσιόδου mi pare *lectio faciliior*, anche perché il nome del poeta era già stato fatto nel brano di Ateneo, precisamente nella citazione da Cameleonte, e non si capirebbe il meccanismo della sostituzione, da parte dello scriba, del nome di Erodoto a quello di Esiodo, se questo fosse stato originariamente presente nel testo.

In confronto l'emendamento Ἡρώδου presenta indubbiamente una maggiore verosimiglianza paleografica, tuttavia altre considerazioni indurrebbero ad escluderlo.

In primo luogo bisogna osservare che per la vita di Eroda non disponiamo di date certe e quindi una sua menzione potrebbe essere cronologicamente discordante con le indicazioni relative agli attori ed al periodo, cui sembra riferirsi la notizia fornita da Iason.

Una eventuale menzione di Eroda si intreccerebbe con l'annosa *querelle* sulla reale natura dei *Mimiambi* (pura *Buchpoësie* o testo per vere e proprie rappresentazioni teatrali?), senza peraltro contribuire a risolverla, dato che nel passo di Ateneo sembra intravedersi una esecuzione monologica e, in ogni caso, unica e particolare.

Si presenterebbe inoltre il problema del pubblico cui i *Mimiambi* erano destinati: l'occasione che il passo consente di immaginare contrasterebbe con l'opinione dello stesso Crusius⁷³, che Eroda scrivesse per

⁷¹ Come segnalano in apparato Merkelbach e West: il riferimento sarebbe ad Hdt. II 10.3.

⁷² Per il passo pliniano, in cui si tratta della coltivazione dell'olivo, gli editori di Erosio annotano che il Goettling richiamava Hdt. V 82.2.

⁷³ O. CRUSIUS, *Die Mimiamben des Herondas*. Deutsch mit Einleitung und Anmerkungen, Göttingen 1893, p. XXXIX. Sulla destinazione dell'opera di Eroda, v. G. MASTROMARCO, *Il pubblico di Eronda (Proagones, Studi 15)*, Padova 1979, p. 22-54, 140-142.

l'*élite* culturale e sociale della società ellenistica e che quindi la pubblicazione dei *Mimiambi* avvenisse in rappresentazioni tenute a corte o nelle dimore della società alessandrina ricca e colta.

Infine, anche ammettendo la possibilità di una conciliazione dei dati cronologici, la citazione sarebbe nella pagina di Ateneo un elemento dissonante, perché introdurrebbe il nome di un autore che, nella migliore delle ipotesi, era contemporaneo all'evento di cui si parla, nell'ambito di un discorso che sembra invece riguardare riprese di opere antiche.

4.2. A questo punto per una piena comprensione e giustificazione del testo tràdito credo sia indispensabile valutare la testimonianza di Iason inquadrandola nel contesto in cui ricorre ed al quale è organicamente connessa.

In questa pagina di Ateneo (620b-d) viene trattata, in rapida rassegna, l'attività di interpreti di vari generi poetici (rapsodi e altri cantori) e pare si prenda in considerazione soprattutto il tipo di *performance* da essi offerto.

Prendendo infatti spunto dall'interesse per Omero di uno dei partecipanti alla discussione, Larensis, si ricorda l'analogo interesse di Cassandro di Macedonia e si introduce così il discorso sui rapsodi, a proposito dei quali si precisa che venivano anche chiamati Omeristi, come aveva affermato Aristocle nella sua opera *Περὶ χορῶν*⁷⁴.

A questo punto la discussione si volge a quello che probabilmente è il suo vero oggetto, cioè le trasformazioni verificatesi da un certo momento in poi nell'esecuzione dei diversi generi poetici.

⁷⁴ Si è ritenuto che il passo di Ateneo derivi interamente dall'opera di Aristocle, nuovamente citata all'inizio del brano successivo sull'ilarodia ecc. (cf. C.A. BAPP, *De fontibus quibus Athenaeus in rebus musicis lyricisque enarrandis usus sit*, in *Leipziger Studien zur klassischen Philologie* 8, 1885, p. 98-99, con cui concorda P.M. FRASER, *PA* II, p. 65s. n.151). Aristocle sarebbe stato attivo negli ultimi decenni del II sec. a.C. (cf. G. WENTZEL, art. *Aristokles* [18], in *RE* II 1 [1895], col. 935-937), dal momento che ad un suo scritto, in forma di lettera, sugli strumenti musicali avrebbe replicato Apollodoro di Atene con una ἀντιγραφή, citata da Ath. 636f. Se a lui si dovesse riferire tutto il brano che stiamo esaminando, allora il nostro Iason sarebbe un autore di cui non sappiamo assolutamente nulla, poiché entrambi i personaggi di questo nome, con cui si potrebbe identificare quello qui menzionato (Iason di Nisa e Iason di Argo, su cui v. rispettivamente F. JACOBY, art. cit. [n. 1] e F. FUNAIOLI, art. cit. [n. 1]) sono vissuti più tardi e non avrebbero perciò potuto esser citati da Aristocle. Probabilmente però Ateneo si rifaceva solo in parte all'autorità di Aristocle e la trattazione delle varie *performances* è opera di Ateneo stesso. La «organicità del dettato atenaico concernente le questioni musicologiche del libro XIV» è stata rilevata da D. RESTANI, *Problemi musicali nel XIV libro dei 'Deipnosophistai' di Ateneo: una proposta di lettura*, in B. GENTILI – R. PRETAGOSTINI (edd.), *La musica in Grecia*, Roma-Bari 1988, p. 26-34.

L'espressione τοὺς δὲ νῦν Ὀμηριστὰς ὀνομαζομένους, che introduce il riferimento a Demetrio Falereo e ad un aspetto della sua attività culturale⁷⁵, sembra alludere ad un mutamento dell'accezione del termine, legato probabilmente ad una mutata modalità della *performance* epica.

La tradizione delle recite di poesia epica ad opera di rapsodi nel contesto delle feste cittadine è ben attestata e per Atene le testimonianze antiche attribuiscono ai Pisistratidi, in particolare ad Ipparco, l'introduzione dell'esecuzione dei poemi omerici nell'ambito delle Panatenee⁷⁶. Probabilmente tale notizia va interpretata nel senso di una regolamentazione di tali recite, intesa ad ottenere che i rapsodi recitassero i poemi in modo completo e ad evitare che ripetessero troppo spesso gli stessi episodi estrapolati dal loro contesto⁷⁷.

La priorità attribuita qui al Falereo fa invece pensare che il tipo di *performance* di cui parla Ateneo fosse diverso da quello tradizionale e l'espressione εἰς τὰ θέατρα sembra alludere a delle recite di tipo drammatico, forse con un accompagnamento musicale, che probabilmente era differente da quello consueto per l'epica⁷⁸.

Sulle recite dei cosiddetti Omeristi ci illuminano con sufficiente chiarezza alcune testimonianze letterarie, come Petronio, *Satyr.* 59.2ss. e Achille Tazio III 20.4⁷⁹, e un certo numero di papiri documentari, tutti del II-III sec. d.C., che attestano la presenza di Omeristi in manifestazioni pubbliche dell'Egitto dell'età romana, accanto ad esibizioni di musica e danza⁸⁰. Stando dunque alla datazione delle testimonianze letterarie e

⁷⁵ Fr. 79 W.

⁷⁶ [Plat.], *Hipp.* 208b-c τὰ Ὀμήρου ἔπη πρῶτος ἐκόμισεν εἰς τὴν γῆν ταυτηνί, καὶ ἠνάγκασε τοὺς ῥαψωδοὺς Παναθηναίοις ἐξ ὑπολήψεως ἐφεξῆς αὐτὰ διένειναι κτλ. (cf. Eustath. Ω 495); Lycurg., in *Leocr.* 102; Diog.L. I 57 attribuisce la norma a Solone.

⁷⁷ Cf. R. JANKO, *The Iliad: a Commentary*, IV. *Books 13-16*, Cambridge-New York e.a. 1992, p. 29-32; G. NAGY, *Pindar's Homer. The Lyric Possession of an Epic Past*, Baltimore-London 1990, p. 21-23; ID., *op. cit.* (n. 64), p. 69ss. Sugli agoni rapsodici, soprattutto in relazione alla testimonianza fornita da Platone, *Ione*, cf. Th. BOYD, *Where Ion Stood, What Ion Sang*, *HSCPh* 96 (1994), p. 109-121.

⁷⁸ Così interpretano anche W. ALY, art. Ῥαψωδός, in *RE* IA 1 (1914), col. 247-248; W. KROLL, art. *Homeristai*, in *RE*, Suppl. III (1918), col. 1158.

⁷⁹ Su questi passi aveva già attirato l'attenzione H. BLÜMNER, *Fahrendes Volk im Altertum*, in *SBA* 1918, Abh. 6.5; essi vengono poi citati regolarmente da tutti gli studiosi che si occupano dell'argomento. Cf. pure Ach. T. VIII 9.2-3; Artemid., *Oniocr.* 4.2.

⁸⁰ I testi finora noti sono *P. Oxy.* 519 (II d.C.), 1025 (III d.C.), 1050 (II/III d.C.), *P. Osl.* III 189 (III d.C.), *SB* IV 7336 (III d.C.). Sulle testimonianze papiracee relative agli spettacoli in questo periodo, cf. M. VANDONI, *Feste pubbliche e private nei documenti greci*, Milano 1964; S. DARIS, *op. cit.* (n. 42), p. 77-93; G. HUSSON, *Les Homeristes*, *JJP* 23 (1993), p. 93-99.

documentarie ora ricordate, il $\nu\tilde{\nu}$ presente nella frase sembra riportarci al tempo e all'esperienza di Ateneo stesso⁸¹, il quale, tenendo presente la realtà a lui più vicina, risale a quella che fu forse l'origine della trasformazione, individuata appunto nell'azione del Falereo.

A partire da questo cenno, Ateneo sembra procedere nell'illustrare l'esistenza di differenti prassi recitative e addirittura una mescolanza fra i vari generi tradizionali, che si esplicava a livello esecutivo.

Infatti attraverso una citazione da Cameleonte⁸² riferisce di esecuzioni cantate riguardanti, oltre che Omero, anche Esiodo, Archiloco, Mimnermo e Focilide. Vengono poi menzionati Clearco⁸³, che ricordava la consuetudine del rapsodo Simonide di Zacinto di recitare nei teatri canti di Archiloco, e Lisania⁸⁴, che riferiva il caso del rapsodo Mnasion, il quale in pubbliche esibizioni ($\epsilon\nu\ \tau\alpha\iota\varsigma\ \delta\epsilon\iota\lambda\epsilon\sigma\iota$) recitava giambi di Semonide.

Infine, immediatamente prima della citazione da Iason, Ateneo riporta la testimonianza di Dicearco, che nell'*Olimpico* ricordava l'esecuzione ad Olimpia dei $\kappa\alpha\theta\alpha\rho\mu\omicron\iota$ di Empedocle da parte del rapsodo Cleomene⁸⁵.

In sostanza Ateneo riporta testimonianze su recite in cui erano stati accostati poeti che avevano esplicato la loro attività nell'ambito di generi, quali l'epica, l'elegia e il giambo, diversi fra loro per la funzione pragmatica che rivestivano (legata alle occasioni cui erano destinati) e per il ritmo metrico, da cui probabilmente dipendeva un differente accompagnamento musicale.

⁸¹ Cf. G. HUSSON, *art. cit.*, p. 95, e G. NAGY, *op. cit.* (n. 64), p. 161.

⁸² Fr. 28 W.

⁸³ Fr. 92 W.

⁸⁴ Su Lisania di Cirene, che fu maestro di Eratostene secondo la *Suda* e viene citato altre volte da Ateneo, v. A. GUDEMAN, *art. Lysanias* (8), in *RE* XIII 2 (1927), col. 2508-2511.

⁸⁵ Fr. 87 W. Da Dicearco sembra dipendere Favorino, che nella sua opera Ἀπομνημονεύματα forniva la medesima notizia, come attesta Diog. L. nella vita di Empedocle (VIII 63 = Favorin. fr. 49 Barigazzi). Non sembra tuttavia che vi siano elementi sufficienti per affermare che l'episodio si sia verificato durante la vita di Empedocle, come fa A. BARIGAZZI, *Favorino di Arelate. Opere*, Firenze 1966, p. 205s., il quale collega la notizia del sacrificio di un bue di miele e farina offerto da Empedocle (fr. 48 Barigazzi) con la recita di Cleomene a Olimpia. Non possiamo infatti attribuire con sicurezza tale sacrificio al filosofo, a causa della confusione delle fonti biografiche antiche fra Empedocle ed il nonno, che portava lo stesso nome e gareggiò e vinse ad Olimpia (cf. A. BARIGAZZI, *op. cit.*, p. 205, 222-223). Su un soggiorno di Empedocle a Olimpia abbiamo solo un cenno in Diog. L. VIII 66 (risalente a Timeo? cf. *FGrHist* 566 F2). Infine sul rapsodo Cleomene non abbiamo notizie da altre fonti, come ammetteva lo stesso Barigazzi (p. 206); cf., a riguardo, J. FREI, *De certaminibus thymelicis*, diss. Basel 1900, p. 63: «... et Cleomenes quidam nescimus quo tempore Empedoclis $\kappa\alpha\theta\alpha\rho\mu\omicron\iota$ s pronuntiavit».

Anche la terminologia adottata nella descrizione di queste recite non sembra affatto casuale e mi pare voglia mostrare appunto la mescolanza di modalità performative, oltre che di generi poetici.

Viene infatti usato μελωδέω per Omero, Esiodo, Archiloco, Mimnermo e Focilide, cioè in relazione a poesia epica ed elegiaca, e che questo termine stia ad indicare proprio il canto, possono attestarlo le occorrenze in Aristofane, *Av.* 226, 1381, *Th.* 99 (cf. anche Plat., *Leg.* 655d, Plut., *de anim. procr. in Tim.* 1019A)⁸⁶. Tale interpretazione sembra peraltro confermata dalla circostanza, ancora una volta non casuale, che la notizia veniva riportata da Cameleonte nel suo scritto *Su Stesicoro*, dove si poteva giustificare probabilmente non perché si riferisse ad una attività esecutiva, citarodica, del poeta stesso⁸⁷, ma piuttosto in relazione al carattere innovativo della sua poesia. Stesicoro infatti, epico per la scelta dei temi e le modalità di trattazione del mito, aveva dato a quella materia forma metrica e musicale propria della lirica⁸⁸. Spostando quindi il discorso dal livello compositivo a quello esecutivo, e allargandolo da Omero, al quale il richiamo era inevitabile quando si parlava di Stesicoro, ad altri poeti, Cameleonte potrebbe aver ricordato una operazione accostabile a quella stesicorea, compiuta però da interpreti, che ad un certo punto avevano affidato (cominciato o ricominciato ad affidare) al canto l'esecuzione di generi diversi di poesia, prima non destinati a una tale esecuzione. Quello menzionato da Cameleonte era evidentemente un esempio delle 'contaminazioni' possibili, cui altri se ne potevano certo aggiungere.

Clearco usava ῥαψωδέω, cioè il termine proprio della recitazione epica, per la presentazione da parte di Simonide di Zacinto di poesie di Archiloco, non possiamo dire se di carattere elegiaco o giambico, la cui esecuzione comunque avrebbe dovuto essere diversa, come si è detto, da quella dell'epica⁸⁹.

⁸⁶ G. NAGY, *op. cit.* (n. 64), p. 160, ritiene «anacronistico» intendere tale termine come «to be set to music» e preferisce renderlo «to be sung melodically». Su questo punto di vista dello studioso mi soffermo più avanti.

⁸⁷ Così sosteneva U. VON WILAMOWITZ-MOELLENDORF, *Sappho und Simonides. Untersuchungen über griechische Lyriker*, Berlin 1913 (repr. 1966), p. 233-242, criticato da F. D'ALFONSO, *Stesicoro e la performance. Studio sulle modalità esecutive dei carmi stesicorei*, Roma 1994, in particolare p. 129-131, dove si discute appunto la testimonianza di Cameleonte.

⁸⁸ L'assoluta unicità dell'esperimento letterario di Stesicoro è stata efficacemente indicata da L.E. ROSSI, *Feste religiose e letteratura: Stesicoro o dell'epica alternativa*, in *Orpheus* 4 (1983), p. 5-31. Sull'opera di Cameleonte e sul senso del fr. v. pure F. WEHRLI, *Die Schule des Aristoteles*, IX. *Phainias von Eresos – Chamaileon – Praxiphanes*, Basel-Stuttgart 1969², p. 80s.

⁸⁹ Benché si pensi anche che poemetti elegiaci di carattere storico-narrativo potessero essere presentati durante pubblici *festivals*, generalmente l'elegia arcaica è associata

Infine la recita di giambi di Semonide da parte del rapsodo Mnasion veniva da Lisania indicata con ὑποκρίνομαι, termine a sua volta specifico di attività teatrale⁹⁰.

Sull'aspetto musicale della *performance* poetica i dati in nostro possesso sono purtroppo piuttosto limitati ed anche suscettibili di interpretazioni diverse, tuttavia generalmente si ritiene che epica, elegia e giambo fossero eseguiti con un accompagnamento strumentale (lira o aulo) di grado più o meno ridotto, comunque distinto dalla melodia del canto pieno. Si può anche ammettere, con il Nagy, che un tale tipo di esecuzione possa essere stato solo lo stadio intermedio di una evoluzione da forme di canto originarie (di cui vi sono indizi nei dati della tradizione) a forme recitate, sicché poi le esecuzioni cantate del periodo post-classico, come quelle di cui parla Ateneo, non sarebbero in realtà una innovazione ma solo una ripresa della tradizione originaria⁹¹.

Ora, se il presupposto può essere condiviso, bisogna tuttavia tener conto della rivoluzione verificatasi in campo musicale fra V e IV sec., di cui siamo informati da tutta una serie di testimonianze. Almeno fino all'inizio del V sec., infatti, il rapporto parola-musica vedeva il netto prevalere della prima, cioè della struttura metrica del verso, sulla seconda, che ne risultava certamente condizionata. Ma già nel corso del secolo e

all'occasione del simposio (cf. E.L. BOWIE, *Early Greek Elegy, Symposium and Public Festival*, *JHS* 106, 1986, p. 13-35). Che poi il repertorio dei rapsodi si potesse estendere da Omero anche ad altri poeti, per es. Esiodo e Archiloco, lo si ricava dallo *Ione* platonico (531a). La presenza di Esiodo non suscita alcuna meraviglia, dal momento che i poeti epici arcaici erano ad un tempo anche rapsodi e si esibivano negli agoni, come si può capire da alcuni passi esiodei e inoltre da quel che sappiamo degli altri poeti epici; quanto alla presenza di Archiloco, cioè delle sue poesie, negli agoni, una testimonianza più antica è quella di Eraclito, fr. 42D.-K., che però non ci dice nulla sul tipo di esecuzione.

Incerta è anche l'occasione della *performance* della poesia giambica. Che essa potesse essere presentata, oltre che nei simposi, anche durante pubbliche manifestazioni e quindi alla presenza di un vasto pubblico è sostenuto da K. BARTOL, *Where was Iambic Poetry Performed?*, *CQ* 42 (1992), p. 65-71, proprio sulla base della testimonianza fornita da Ateneo, oltre che dello *Ione* di Platone e di Arist., *Polit.* 1336b20.

⁹⁰ Per ὑποκρίνομαι nel nostro passo K. BARTOL, *art. cit.*, p. 69s., pensa ad un uso non tecnico del termine. A me pare tuttavia non plausibile invocare significati come 'interpretare' auspicando o sogni o semplicemente 'declamare', peraltro ben noti, in un contesto in cui si parla chiaramente di teatro e di forme di spettacolo; non bisogna inoltre dimenticare che l'accostamento di ῥαψῳδοί e ὑποκριταί è ripetuto più volte nello *Ione* (532d, 535e, 536a) e che in Aristotele, *Polit.* 1336b20 si parla di ἰάμβων ... θεατῶν. Anche in Diod. XIV 109, dove si racconta che nel 388 a.C. Dionigi di Siracusa fece eseguire ad Olimpia, in occasione dei giochi, le sue composizioni poetiche, si parla di rapsodi, che vengono definiti ὑποκριταί. Sulla terminologia teatrale in generale si veda A. PICKARD-CAMBRIDGE, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 177-191; cf. pure J.B. O'CONNOR, *Actors*, p. 3ss.

⁹¹ Cf. G. NAGY, *Pindar's Homer* (n. 77), in part. p. 20-29, e *op. cit.* (n. 64), p. 160.

poi soprattutto nel IV tale rapporto andò gradualmente mutando, fino a rovesciarsi, per l'avanzare di una nuova moda musicale, caratterizzata da melodie particolarmente elaborate e tortuose: ciò comportò una frattura fra il sistema linguistico e quello musicale, con il risultato del predominio assoluto della musica sulla parola⁹². Non è perciò immaginabile che, in un quadro così radicalmente mutato dal punto di vista musicale, le esecuzioni cantate del periodo pre-ellenistico ed ellenistico potessero rappresentare un puro e semplice ritorno ad originarie tradizioni di canto.

Un ulteriore elemento di rottura degli schemi tradizionali dello spettacolo Ateneo sembra volerlo indicare attraverso la menzione, in questo contesto tutto dedicato alla poesia, di un autore come Empedocle, il quale, benché avesse scritto in versi, non poteva esser considerato un poeta in senso proprio, come aveva messo chiaramente in luce Aristotele⁹³.

Segue, infine, la citazione di Iason, che chiude in un certo senso la pagina, riferendo di una recitazione da Erodoto (secondo il testo tradito) da parte di un κωμῳδός, avvenuta insieme con quella di epica omerica, da parte di un altro attore, presumibilmente anch'egli un κωμῳδός.

Ma, dopo quanto si è detto sul passo di Ateneo, perché dovrebbe risultare tanto sorprendente la citazione di una recita da Erodoto, probabilmente non più audace delle altre già ricordate o di quella, da parte di un κωμῳδός, di epica omerica, ad essa accostata nell'occasione ricordata da Iason?

Innanzitutto per Erodoto, come per gli storici in generale, è abbastanza sicura e ben nota la consuetudine della pubblica lettura: nonostante le perplessità del Momigliano sulle implicazioni del famoso passo di Tucidide (I 22.4), sembra che vi siano testimonianze sufficienti a supporre

⁹² Su tutta questa problematica cf. B. GENTILI, *Metro e ritmo nella dottrina degli antichi e nella prassi della «performance»*, in *La musica in Grecia*, a cura di B. GENTILI e R. PRETAGOSTINI, Roma-Bari 1988, p. 5-16.

⁹³ Cf. Arist., *Poet.* 1447b, con cui non è in contrasto il fr. 70 Rose, che, pur definendo Empedocle 'omerizzante', va riferito probabilmente all'uso dell'esametro. Cf. anche Plut., *de aud. poet.* 16C. La distinzione aristotelica viene ripresa in termini di teoria retorica in *schol.* in Dionys. Thr., 166 Hilgard (su questa problematica cf. R. NICOLAI, *La storiografia nell'educazione antica [Biblioteca di materiali e discussioni per l'analisi dei testi classici]*, 10], Pisa 1992, p. 235). Naturalmente non è rilevante il fatto che il poema di Empedocle venisse recitato, dal momento che la trasmissione e la diffusione dei testi letterari generalmente avvenivano attraverso una *performance* orale, ma piuttosto che l'evento venisse menzionato in questo particolare contesto.

una tale possibilità; inoltre, specialmente per l'età ellenistica, è ben documentata la prassi delle pubbliche recite di opere storiche⁹⁴.

A questa imprescindibile considerazione preliminare, confortata del resto da quanto ormai sappiamo sulle modalità della comunicazione orale dell'opera letteraria nell'antica Grecia⁹⁵, si aggiunge, con particolare importanza nel nostro discorso, la possibile contiguità di storiografia e poesia, messa in luce dai trattatisti di retorica, e fondata sulla *licentia*, la libertà cioè di scelte tematiche e stilistiche, peculiare della poesia, ma consentita anche agli storici, i quali potevano inserire nel racconto storico episodi non veri e leggende vicine alle *fabulae* narrate dai poeti⁹⁶.

Un tale accostamento era forse possibile in modo particolare per Erodoto, che, secondo Dionigi di Alicarnasso, si distingueva dagli altri storici proprio per la sua capacità di rendere la prosa simile alla migliore poesia⁹⁷.

La qualità poetica dell'opera erodotea fece sì che nel periodo ellenistico l'interesse per essa non fosse limitato all'attività dei filologi, ma si estendesse fino a dare un certo impulso alla produzione dei poeti⁹⁸, come

⁹⁴ Sulla lettura (o recitazione) delle opere letterarie in generale e di quelle storiche in particolare si soffermava già E. ROHDE, *Der griechische Roman und seine Vorläufer*, Leipzig 1914³ (= Hildesheim 1960; Darmstadt 1974), p. 327-329 (v. anche p. 591). Quanto alle parole di Tucidide, A. MOMIGLIANO, *The Historians of the Classical World and their Audiences: Some Suggestions*, in *ASNP* S. III 8 (1978), p. 59-75 (*Sesto contributo alla storia degli studi classici e del mondo antico*, Roma 1980, p. 361-376), ne rileva soprattutto l'ambiguità; lo studioso non nega ovviamente l'esistenza di pubbliche letture, ma mette in evidenza che le nostre informazioni sono relative più che altro al periodo ellenistico e romano. Maggiore fiducia nelle testimonianze antiche mostra L. CANFORA, *La trasmissione del sapere, in I Greci*, a cura di S. SETTIS, vol. I, Torino 1996, p. 655-657 («Il pubblico degli storici»). Tutte le testimonianze epigrafiche sulle recite di opere storiche sono raccolte e discusse in A. CHANIOTIS, *Historie und Historiker in den griechischen Inschriften. Epigraphische Beiträge zur griechischen Historiographie (Heidelberger althistorische Beiträge und epigraphische Studien, 4)*, Stuttgart 1988, di cui v. specialmente p. 365-372 («Wandergelehrte und historische Vorträge»).

⁹⁵ Sulla ἐπίδειξις in particolare si veda W. SCHMID, art. ἐπίδειξις, in *RE* VI 1 (1907), col. 53-56; sul problema in generale cf., per es., W.V. HARRIS, *Ancient Literacy*, Cambridge (MA) 1989, p. 142-143. Per un esempio dal mondo romano cf. Gell. XVIII 5.2-3: *Atque ibi (sc. Puteolis) tunc Iuliano nuntiatur ἀναγνώστην quendam, non indoctum hominem, voce admodum scita et canora Ennii Annales legere ad populum in theatro. «Eamus – inquit – auditum nescio quem istum Ennianistam»; hoc enim se ille nomine appellari volebat*. Su questo passo, mettendo in relazione il termine 'Ennianista' con 'Omerista', aveva richiamato l'attenzione W. HERAEUS, *Drei Fragmente eines Grammatikers Ovidius Naso?*, in *RhM* N.F. 79 (1930), p. 401.

⁹⁶ Cf. R. NICOLAI, *op. cit.* (n. 93), p. 239.

⁹⁷ Cf. R. NICOLAI, *op. cit.* (n. 93), p. 244s.

⁹⁸ Cf. K.A. RIEMANN, *Das Herodoteische Geschichtswerk in der Antike*, Diss. München 1967, p. 69.

può testimoniare, in particolare, quel che possiamo leggere di un dramma, incentrato sulla storia di Candaule e Gige (*TrGF* II 664), ben nota dalla *novella* erodotea (I 8-12) con la quale mostra una strettissima somiglianza⁹⁹.

Anche se non si voglia supporre, perché ipotesi forse troppo audace, che proprio questo frammento possa offrire un esempio della ‘drammatizzazione’ di passi erodotei, di cui parlava Iason, non dovrebbe essere particolarmente sorprendente, per i motivi ora esposti, immaginare comunque una recita di tipo teatrale (magari con accompagnamento musicale) di particolari brani dell’opera di Erodoto.

L’ipotesi è verosimile, specialmente se si tiene conto del quadro complessivo che attraverso l’evidenza documentaria e letteraria possiamo immaginare per il teatro ellenistico.

Come è stato efficacemente messo in rilievo, questo era un teatro che «aveva assunto forme e funzioni ben diverse da quelle originali del V sec.: si trattava di spettacoli (ἐπιδείξεις, ἀκροάσεις) offerti da virtuosi che eseguivano, con il canto e l’accompagnamento musicale della cetra o dell’aulo, qualsiasi testo, sia lirico sia drammatico»¹⁰⁰.

In particolare la citazione da Iason permette di ipotizzare che per il κομῳδός valesse quanto affermato per il τραγῳδός, «che dà veste musicale a ritmi originariamente non destinati al canto»¹⁰¹ e che τραγῳδός e κομῳδός fossero ormai divenute figure in un certo senso intercambiabili, sicché i due termini sostanzialmente assumono il significato di ‘attore’¹⁰².

La pagina di Ateneo nel suo complesso ci consente di ampliare ulteriormente questo panorama, mostrandoci un’articolazione ancora più

⁹⁹ Il frammento, conservato in *P. Oxy.* 2382, apparteneva ad un dramma intitolato forse *Gyges*, come sembrano suggerire, in forma ipotetica, Snell-Kannicht; che si debba piuttosto parlare di un «dramma di Candaule» è invece l’opinione di A. GARZYA, ‘*Dramma di Gige*’ o ‘*di Candaule*’?, in R. PRETAGOSTINI (ed.), *Tradizione e innovazione nella cultura greca da Omero all’età ellenistica. Scritti in onore di B. Gentili*, II, Roma 1993, p. 547-549. E’ problema ampiamente dibattuto e tuttora irrisolto se il dramma sia da assegnare al periodo ellenistico o ad epoca pre-erodotea: una sintesi delle posizioni in *TrGF* II, p. 248-249.

¹⁰⁰ B. GENTILI, *Lo spettacolo nel mondo antico*, Roma-Bari 1977, p. 13-14; cf. anche D. LANZA, *L’attore*, in M. VEGETTI (ed.), *Introduzione alle culture antiche*, I. *Oralità, scrittura, spettacolo (Gli archi)*, Torino 1992², p. 127-139. Gentili si sofferma anche (p. 7ss.) sulla prassi antologica, diffusissima per i testi teatrali, ma alla quale non furono sottratte le opere in prosa.

¹⁰¹ B. GENTILI, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

¹⁰² Sulle variazioni possibili nell’uso di questi termini del linguaggio teatrale, dopo J.B. O’CONNOR, *Actors*, p. 5-27, e oltre a A. PICKARD-CAMBRIDGE, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 179-186, si veda P. GHIRON-BISTAGNE, *Acteurs*, p. 119-125.

ampia dell'attività teatrale pre-ellenistica ed ellenistica, includente ormai non più solo i testi specificamente drammatici, ma qualsiasi tipo di testo, poetico e non.

Nonostante non vi siano indicazioni cronologiche riguardo alle recitazioni, di cui ci siamo occupati (tranne, pare, per quella di cui parla Iason), la lettura del passo sembra riportarci al clima culturale che ispirava l'aspra polemica di Platone, *Leg.* 700a-701b, contro il sovvertimento del tradizionale rapporto interno fra i temi della poesia e le forme di accompagnamento musicale. Rimpiangendo il tempo passato, in cui la μουσική era rigidamente suddivisa secondo i generi suoi propri, Platone criticava i poeti che avevano dato inizio ad un disordine estraneo alle Muse, mescolando θρῆνοι con inni e peani con ditirambi, imitando con la κithάρα le melodie dell'αὐλός, mescolando insomma tutto con tutto (700e).

La situazione così descritta era probabilmente la conseguenza delle innovazioni operate in campo musicale dai ditirambografi (Melanippide, Cresso, Frinide, Cinesia, Filosseno e soprattutto Timoteo di Mileto) attivi tra la fine del V e la prima metà del IV sec. a.C.¹⁰³.

Questa 'rivoluzione' dovette condizionare tutte le forme tradizionali dello spettacolo, modificandole profondamente nel senso indicato da Gentili. Si aggiunga poi che la scomparsa delle specifiche destinazioni pragmatiche per le esecuzioni pubbliche dei diversi generi poetici aveva comportato per essi la perdita della originaria funzione.

Dalla dissoluzione del quadro tradizionale emergeva, tra altre istanze, anche la possibilità di un *riuso* e della *Kreuzung der Gattungen* ad esso connessa¹⁰⁴, che si sarebbe dunque esplicata non solo a livello compositivo, ma anche esecutivo.

Collocata in questa temperie culturale può probabilmente ricevere piena luce la pagina che abbiamo riletto, nella quale ci pare possa essere conservato senz'altro il nome di Erodoto.

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¹⁰³ Una sintesi storica sull'argomento si può trovare in M.L. WEST, *Ancient Greek Music*, Oxford 1992, p. 356-385; per una trattazione specifica cf. D. RESTANI, *Il 'Chirone' di Ferecrate e la 'nuova' musica greca*, *Rivista Italiana di Musicologia* 18 (1983), p. 139-192.

¹⁰⁴ Sul panorama qui soltanto accennato, si veda M. FANTUZZI, *Il sistema letterario della poesia alessandrina nel III sec. a.C.*, in G. CAMBIANO – L. CANFORA – D. LANZA (dir.), *Lo spazio letterario della Grecia antica*, II. *La produzione e la circolazione del testo*, 2. *L'Ellenismo*, Roma 1993, p. 31-73, che cita la bibliografia precedente.

HOSTILITY AND GOODWILL IN SUETONIUS AND THE HISTORIA AUGUSTA*

INTRODUCTION

In beginning his narrative of Nero's last days, Suetonius in c. 41 records that Vindex issued frequent insulting edicts against Nero, reproached him for being a poor lyre-player and called him Ahenobarbus rather than Nero. Then to Rome came news of the revolt of Galba and the Spanish provinces. Nero composed verses that made fun of the leaders of the revolt (42.2) and supposedly planned to kill army commanders and provincial governors, murder exiles everywhere and all Gauls in Rome, and poison the senate *en masse* (43.1). Hostility against Nero grew because he was perceived to be exacerbating high grain prices. His statues were used to insult him, and derogatory graffiti were posted (45.2). An anti-Vindex speech of Nero's was delivered in the senate (46.3) and then came news of further revolts (47.1). An officer of the praetorian guard made an insulting response to Nero's attempt to persuade them to flee with him (47.2) and the senate sentenced him to be flogged to death (49.2). Insult, revolt, planned massacre, invective and capital condemnation, these are some of the many ways in which hostility appears in the pages of Suetonius.

In the Augustan History's life of Antoninus Pius we have Pius showing dutiful affection to all members of his family, and many relatives enriching him with legacies (1.9). He lent a helping hand to his frail father-in-law in the senate house (2.4), spared many of those who had been condemned by Hadrian and ensured that due honours were paid to him after his death, having prevented him from suicide (2.7). Pius used his fortune to assist many people (2.8) and always chose the most merciful course when dispensing justice (3.8). He gave a *congiarium* to the urban plebs (4.10) and returned all of the crown gold sent to him from Italy (4.10). But although the kindness and favour shown by Pius towards others and by others to Pius is a feature of the life, references to

* Exculpatory thanks are due to Professor A.R. Birley for assistance with an earlier draft of this paper. I am particularly indebted to him for letting me have access to his article, *Marius Maximus the Consular Biographer*, due to appear in *ANWR* II 34.3.

hostility are present and unavoidable. The life refers twice to his predecessor condemning men to death (2.6, 6.3), Pius' wife Faustina reproving him for being insufficiently generous to his household and his reproof in turn for her not understanding that he had lost the means to freely disburse (4.8). The senate condemned the ex-consul Atilianus Titianus for conspiracy (7.3). The Alani raided Roman territory and Pius had to put down revolts by Moors, Britons, Jews and Dacians (5.4).

Hostility and goodwill

Acts, words and thoughts of hostility and goodwill can take various forms, be manifested for various reasons, and lead to various consequences. The imperial biographies composed by Suetonius and the unknown late fourth-century author of the *Historia Augusta* (HA) can be classified as being about «good», «bad» or ambivalently presented emperors. Just what constitutes goodness and badness in their eyes has been extensively discussed¹. By adopting broad definitions of hostility and goodwill, and listing and summarising instances emanating from an emperor, one can weave some threads into the tapestry of autocracy at Rome in the principate. Adding instances belonging to the period before they became emperor and those emanating from people other than emperors provides further threads. The lives feature a large cast of contemporaries and contain references to ancestors, both as agents and recipients of hostility or goodwill. The recorded instances of hostility and goodwill that stem from pre- and non-imperial figures adds to mate-

¹ E.g. by G. ALFÖLDY, *Römisches Staats- und Gesellschaftsdenken bei Sueton*, *AncSoc* 11/12 (1980/81), p. 349-385; ID., *Die römische Sozialordnung in der Historia Augusta*, in *Bonner Historia-Augusta-Colloquium 1975/1976*, Bonn 1978, p. 1-51; B. BALDWIN, *Suetonius*, Amsterdam 1983; K. BRADLEY, *Imperial Virtues in Suetonius*, *JIES* 4 (1976), p. 245-253; ID., *The Imperial Ideal in Suetonius' Caesars*, in *ANRW* II 33.5 (1986), p. 3701-3732; L. BRAUN, *Vitellius und Tiberius bei Tacitus und Sueton*, *WJA* 16 (1990), p. 205-219; T. CARNEY, *How Suetonius' Lives Reflect on Hadrian*, *PACA* 11 (1968), p. 7-24; J. COISSON, *Suétone physiognomoniste dans les Vies des XII Césars*, *REL* 31 (1953), p. 234-256; J. EKTOR, *L'impassabilité et l'objectivité de Suetone*, *LEC* 48 (1980), p. 317-326; J. GASCOU, *Suetone historien*, Rome 1984; G. LUCK, *Über Suetons 'Divus Titus'*, *RhM* 107 (1964), p. 63-75; M. MECKLER, *The Beginning of the Historia Augusta*, *Historia* 45 (1996), p. 364-375; T. REEKMANS, *Prosperity and Security in the Historia Augusta*, *AncSoc* 10 (1979), p. 239-270; K. ROSEN, *Soziale Fragen in der Historia Augusta*, *Index* 17 (1989), p. 263-274; R. SYME, *Ammianus and the Historia Augusta*, Oxford 1968; ID., *Emperors and Biography*, Oxford 1971; ID., *Historia Augusta Papers*, Oxford 1983; H. SZELEST, *Virtus und Vitium in der Historia Augusta*, *Eos* 72 (1984), p. 362-373; A. WALLACE-HADRILL, *Suetonius*, London 1983.

rial that permits comparison of the perceptions of the two biographers in two key areas of human behaviour. The acts of praising and honouring, for example, and criticising and dishonouring are frequently mentioned by the authors², and by noting for what emperors and others are commended and berated, light can be shed on the values and interests of the authors and, less certainly, the values of the writers' contemporaries. The social status of the most and least frequent senders and receivers of hostility and goodwill reveals something of the dynamics of the court and ambient worlds depicted by each author and, more remotely and elusively, their literary sources. Also of interest is how frequently an author provides, whether explicitly or through reasonable inference, cause, purpose and effect of any particular instance of hostility or goodwill; and how this information can be grouped. Frequent failure to provide such information could be a mark of poorly integrated or understood material, or of haste and carelessness in composition. The author, of course, may not always have had such information, or be unwilling to speculate, or else may think it sufficient to record an instance and leave it to the reader to surmise its significance and typicality. Or else the author's focus may simply be on other matters³, and he may be happy at times to simply be a collector of biographical facts. What is not or is infrequently said may be revealing. Thus, when a cause for an attack on a person is given, it is almost always in response to something the person has done, not for what he or she is. The motive is rarely to defend others and when people are rewarded or enriched it is rarely to compensate them for some injury.

An ancient biographer's evaluation of an emperor will depend largely on how an emperor treats his subjects and how subjects respond to his behaviour⁴. Acts of hostility and goodwill comprise a large portion of such conduct and statistics below shed some light on this issue. However, the primary purpose of this study is the shape and direction of hos-

² Suetonius, it may be relevant to note, wrote a treatise on terms of abuse in Greek. To anticipate the findings below, cf. A. RICHLIN, *Sexuality and Aggression in Roman Humor*, Yale 1983, p. 104 on the relationship between invective and power.

³ For example, in their introduction to the edition of Suetonius' *Divus Julius*, Oxford 1927, p. XIV, H. BUTLER and E. CARY note how little emphasis there is on, *inter alia*, Julius' motives but rather on certain of his qualities such as envy, audacity, affability, generosity and versatile genius.

⁴ See R. SALLER, *Personal Patronage under the Early Empire*, Cambridge 1982, p. 207, on the importance of patronage in holding otherwise inequitable societies together.

tility and goodwill in the biographies and the authors' perception of these phenomena, not simply how well or badly an emperor scores in these areas.

Theories as to why people engage in hostile or kindly acts are many and various, and involve discussions of human behaviour too numerous and wide ranging to be summarised here. In seeking to deal with evidence of hostility we have used the definition of Saul: «the tendency of an organism to do something harmful to another organism»⁵, viewed as some kind of deprivation, whether it be of safety, life, health, property, movement, status, reputation, peace happiness. As a corollary, goodwill is that which enhances an organism in some way, physically or emotionally, and can range from trust and forgiveness to sympathy, aid, love and praise. Hostility is usually accompanied by feelings of anger, and can range in intensity from to a glare and a piece of gossip to bloody revenge. It can involve groups as well as individuals and includes, for example, cloaking personal sadism in the name of institutional imperatives or communal good. It can be a sign of weakness, fear and frustration, a means of affirming identity and of relieving boredom as others react, as much as strength and confidence.

Hostility and goodwill in Suetonius and the HA

The first eight lives of the HA have been used, from Hadrian to Caracalla, excluding the co-emperor Verus, the ill-fated successor Aelius Caesar and the unsuccessful claimants Avidius Cassius, Pescennius Niger and Clodius Albinus. The total number of words in the eight

⁵ L. SAUL, *The Psychodynamics of Hostility*, New York 1976, p. 6. Also useful have been A. PEPITONE, *Attraction and Hostility*, New York 1964; W. GAYLIN, *The Rage Within*, New York 1984; R. JOHNSON, *Aggression in Man and Animals*, Philadelphia 1972. J. OKEY, *Human Aggression: the Aetiology of Individual Differences*, *Journal of Humanistic Psychology* 32 (1992), p. 51-64, reviews the theories. Saul distinguishes hostility from aggression, which he calls a behaviour that can be constructive. But because full and clear exposition of purpose and effect is so often lacking in Suetonius and the HA I have counted as hostility behaviour that could be construed as constructively aggressive, such as *Ant.* 4.8, the exchange between Pius and his wife over giving to the household. The official who enjoys the charisma of office, not of person, and who carries out violence with reference to formality and function, not for personal domination, can act with a terrifying impersonality. Adolf Eichmann is a well-known case. See R. COLLINS, *Three Faces of Cruelty: towards a Comparative Sociology of Violence, Theory and Society* 1 (1974), p. 415-440. R. COVER, *Violence and the Word*, *Yale Law Journal* 95 (1985), p. 1601-1629, discusses the problem of violence from the perspective of perpetrator, victim and judge.

biographies is 26,681. Suetonius' *Twelve Caesars* amount to 68,810 words⁶.

The following categories have been used to group material indicative of hostility. Instances are confined to human interaction but include dreams, allegations, threats and wishes that have hostile intent. There must be some destructive movement of energy between A and B, even if A and B cannot be clearly identified⁷.

- A. Apply direct force: kill, injure, mutilate, harm, beat, destroy, attack with force, invade, seize, shove, hit, torture.

Caesar plans to make war on his senatorial opponents if they take action against his tribunes (*Jul.* 30.1); the Roxolani and Sarmatians make incursions into Moesia (*Had.* 6.6); Commodus orders the votaries of Bellona to cut off their arms (*Com.* 9.5).

- B. Deprive or abandon: rob, betray, deceive, mutiny, rebel, divorce, reject, banish, fine, refuse help to.

Caligula removes their horses from those knights guilty of wicked or scandalous acts (*Cal.* 16.1); Claudius Pompeianus refuses to help Didius Julianus and become co-emperor (*Did.* 8.4); soldiers in Umbria desert Didius for Severus (*Did.* 8.5).

- C. Generally cause fear, suffering or anguish in ways not covered above or below: torment, punish, intimidate.

Tiberius subjects Agrippina the Elder, Nero and Drusus to harsh treatment when they are in exile (*Tib.* 64); Severus refuses pardon for Aemilianus (*Sev.* 8.16); Caracalla is very cruel to those who nurse him when he is ill (*Car.* 5.3).

⁶ Manual counting of Suetonius' lives yields the following word totals for each life: *Jul.* 9570; *Aug.* 13327; *Tib.* 8971; *Cal.* 7599; *Cla.* 6394; *Ner.* 7839; *Gal.* 2804; *Oth.* 1605; *Vit.* 2311; *Ves.* 3203; *Tit.* 1591; *Dom.* 3596. Computer counted totals for the HA lives, supplied by I. MARRIOT, *The Authorship of the Historia Augusta: Two Computer Studies*, *JRS* 69 (1969), p. 65-77, at 75, are: *Had.* 5106; *Ant.* 2233; *Marc.* 5476; *Com.* 3449; *Pert.* 2576; *Did.* 1585; *Sev.* 4205; *Car.* 1991.

⁷ Thus «some», «many», «a certain» etc. can be counted. A general statement such as *Jul.* 55.3., that Caesar had a bad reputation for sexual immorality was not included. The insulting remark of the elder Curio that Caesar was every woman's man and every man's woman was counted. If an action has a negative or depriving effect upon someone, it is counted as hostile even though it could be an impersonal, objective and impartial act of justice. This may mean that some instances of hostility are included that should not be but it is impossible to be sure of pure motivation. Occasionally Suetonius has an explicit comment on the pain that is inflicted, such as his rejection of the view that Tiberius' cruelty was fostered by Sejanus (*Tib.* 61.1) and his view that Galba was too severe in his punishments (*Gal.* 9.1).

- D. Verbal assault: criticise, depreciate, threaten, blame, despise, express anger at, quarrel or argue with in unfriendly way, accuse, annoy, provoke.

Caesar prosecutes Dolabella for extortion (*Jul.* 4.1); Augustus calls Agrippa Postumus and the two Julias his three boils and ulcers (*Aug.* 65.4); a philosopher abuses Tiberius for favouring one side in a dispute (*Tib.* 11.3).

- E. Seek revenge; hate, or stir up hatred against; enjoy the sufferings of another.

Caligula encourages plebeians to take the seats of knights at the theatre (*Cal.* 26.4); Caligula forces fathers to attend their sons' executions (*Cal.* 27.4); many hate Otho bitterly (*Oth.* 12.2).

- F. Restrict: hinder, thwart, block, impede, imprison, bind, arrest.

Nero imprisons Galba's freedman Icelus (*Ner.* 49.4); Severus captures Albinus' generals (*Sev.* 10.8); Servianus prevents Hadrian from carrying news of Nerva's death to Trajan (*Had.* 2.6).

Regardless of possible ulterior motivation, overt expressions of goodwill are taken at face value, unless the author explicitly indicates insincerity or blatant self-interest⁸. To assume otherwise would be to descend into a morass of indecision. To be included an instance needs to be more than an acting in concert. As with hostility, there needs to be a transfer of energy from A to B. The act of goodwill must be aimed at a person or group, and not be some general act of philanthropy or good government, such as putting on games or passing a law. The following categories have been used to group material indicative of goodwill:

- A. Show or promise love, warmth, friendliness, kindness, concern (but not marry or betroth). More specifically and concretely, embrace, farewell, greet, pat, woo, kiss.

Nero holds Vitellius dear (*Vit.* 4); Otho writes consolatory letters to his sister and to Nero's widow (*Oth.* 10.2); Marcus' mother is concerned about him sleeping rough (*Mar.* 2.6).

⁸ E.g. *Oth.* 2.2, Otho's pretended love for an old imperial freedwoman; *Dom.* 12.1, Domitian's treacherous affability. Similarly excluded is Caesar only helping candidates to be elected who would support him (*Jul.* 23.2) and Otho securing an acquittal in return for a large payment (*Oth.* 2.2).

- B. Show sympathy, compassion for the misfortune and suffering of others. Miss or grieve for the loss of.

In their grief at his loss, some decorate Nero's tomb with flowers and put his statues on the rostra (*Ner.* 57.1); Caracalla is sympathetic towards a playmate for the beating he received (*Car.* 1.6.); his mother and other men weep for Geta's death (*Car.* 3.3).

- C. Praise, appreciate, thank, confer honours upon.

Provincials in Germany and Britain set up statues in honour of Titus (*Tit.* 4.1); senate bestows title of Augusta on the elder Faustina (*Ant.* 5.2); Commodus makes a former lover of his mother consul (*Com.* 8.1).

- D. Protect, heal, nurture, help, be generous towards, give constructive advice, show support for, confer benefit upon, do favour for.

Domitian distributes three *congiaria* at 300 sesterces per head (*Dom.* 4.5); Titus always sends petitioners away with some hope (*Tit.* 8.1); Trajan rewards Hadrian with a diamond he had received from Nerva (*Had.* 3.7).

- E. Forgive, pardon, show mercy and leniency towards.

Domitian pardons quaestor's scribes for past offences (*Dom.* 9.3); Nero forgives all the crimes of those who confessed their sexual improprieties (*Ner.* 29); Hadrian deals leniently with a madman who tried to kill him (*Had.* 12.5).

- F. Trust, show loyalty to.

Titus proves his loyalty to Vespasian (*Tit.* 5.3); Pius shows great trust in Marcus (*Mar.* 6.9); Marcus conceals and defends Verus' vices, though greatly offended by them (*Mar.* 15.3).

Analysis of the findings begins with an overall comparison of the occurrences of hostility and goodwill in each author. The frequency of instances is expressed as x times per thousand words⁹.

	Suetonius	HA
Hostility	15.9 (1095)	20.7 (550)
Goodwill	8.7 (596)	19.2 (510)

⁹ In counting an instance, a specific act of hostility or goodwill was counted only once, regardless of how many agents or recipients were involved. To count an act emanating from or affecting each individual separately is to put one in the impossible position of trying to assess the number of instances that should be counted when «some», «many» or «all» are mentioned. However, if there was more than one *status* involved in the multiple agents or recipients, the instance was multiplied accordingly. For example, if the emperor is reported as condemning senators and knights to death, this counts as two instances of hostility.

The figures in brackets are the total number of instances in each sample. In both authors, instances of hostility outnumber those of goodwill but only slightly so in the HA, which significantly exceeds both Suetonius' frequencies. Studies by Cizek and Cochran on the amount of positivity and negativity in Suetonius' portrayal of each of his imperial subjects are valuable attempts to go beyond impressions and quantify the elements that make up each portrait¹⁰. The figures in the table immediately below, which give the frequency of instances of hostility and goodwill per life, do not seek to corroborate those studies because they contain the acts of others besides the emperor¹¹. The bracketed figures are percentages and express the proportion of the total instances of hostility and goodwill that stem from the subject of the life. For example, Hadrian is responsible for 81 out of 130, or 62%, of the instances of goodwill in the HA life. Such figures, based on the not insubstantial amount of material provided by these two areas of behaviour offer an insight into how centralised (focussed on the main subject) each life is¹².

Suetonius			HA		
	Hostility	Goodwill		Hostility	Goodwill
Jul.	15.5 (46)	9.7 (76)	Had.	16.6 (57)	25.3 (62)
Aug.	11.9 (56)	8.2 (61)	Ant.	7.6 (65)	34.5 (67)
Tib.	20.7 (57)	6.0 (78)	Mar.	8.9 (39)	26.8 (78)
Cal.	17.4 (75)	8.4 (55)	Com.	44.6 (44)	7.0 (50)
Cla.	12.7 (53)	11.4 (59)	Per.	14.4 (22)	18.6 (42)
Ner.	17.2 (65)	8.0 (63)	Did.	27.1 (33)	10.7 (41)
Gal.	15.7 (39)	6.4 (72)	Sev.	26.4 (76)	12.1 (69)
Oth.	15.0 (25)	14.9 (50)	Car.	25.6 (71)	7.5 (53)
Vit.	20.3 (49)	12.1 (46)			
Ves.	11.6 (43)	9.4 (77)			
Tit.	13.2 (52)	13.8 (68)			
Dom.	22.8 (72)	5.0 (89)			

¹⁰ E. CIZÉK, *Structures et idéologie dans les «Vies des Douze Césars» de Suétone*, Paris 1977, p. 76-110; L. COCHRAN, *Suetonius' Conception of Imperial Character*, *Biography* 3 (1980), p. 189-201.

¹¹ If acts of hostility or goodwill consistently evoked similar responses in others, then there could be a direct relationship that could offer corroboration. But in the accounts of Suetonius and the HA they do not.

¹² This becomes clearer if one adds the hostility and goodwill percentages together: Julius 122, Augustus 117, Tiberius 135, Caligula 130, Claudius 112, Nero 128, Galba 111, Otho 75, Vitellius 95, Vespasian 120, Titus 120, Domitian 161, Hadrian 119, Pius 132, Marcus 117, Commodus 94, Pertinax 64, Didius 74, Severus 145, Caracalla 124. The most centralised life is Domitian's, followed by Severus, Tiberius, Pius and Caligula. The most decentralised life is Pertinax's, followed by Didius and Otho. The remainder cluster in the 128-94 range.

Of Suetonius' lives, the bleakest in terms of the relative frequency of reported hostile thoughts, words and deeds, is that of Domitian, followed by Tiberius and Vitellius. A life that contains a high proportion of civil or foreign warfare can inflate a hostility score, hence the score for Otho, a life which presents its main subject favourably overall; and Titus' score would be lower if fewer criticisms of plots against him were recorded. The positivity of the Otho life emerges in its goodwill score, the highest, exceeding even that of Titus. The negativity of the Domitian life is reinforced by it also achieving the lowest goodwill score, whereas Suetonius' very hostile portrayal of Vitellius¹³ has not precluded a comparatively high number of instances of goodwill. However when favour is shown to undeserving people, as Vitellius tends to do, that is no commendation. In the HA, the very high Commodus hostility score reflects not only a vicious emperor but the senatorial decree passed against him on his death and recorded at great and repetitive length by the author (18.2-19.9). Apparently preserved by Marius Maximus¹⁴, it contains no fewer than 44 wishes for the defilement of the late emperor's corpse, degradation of his memory, and, punishment for informers. Without this extended quotation, Commodus hostility frequency would be in the low 30s, still the highest, and corresponding with his having the lowest goodwill score. Pius, and in particular Marcus, had wars to fight and rebellions to suppress, which accounts for some of their hostility score, and the author recounts some hostile gossip against the imperial family, but their low hostility scores, the lowest of the eight, correspond to their goodwill scores, the highest. The high hostility scores of Didius and Severus, both lives containing civil war narrative, and that of Caracalla, are reflected in their low goodwill scores (unlike Suetonius' Otho). The HA's hostility rankings tend to mirror the goodwill rankings more than do those of Suetonius. In a sense, they are more polarised.

THE PATTERNS OF HOSTILITY AND GOODWILL

One of the objects of this exercise is to determine the shape or pattern of hostility and goodwill that exists in each author, that is, what categories

¹³ See E. CIZÉK, *La mort de Vitellius dans les «Vies des Douze Césars» de Suétone*, *REA* 75 (1975), p. 125-130.

¹⁴ Who liked to insert documents and could draw on the *acta senatus*.

occur most and least often, and whether this distribution differ between the authors. In the tables below, the figures in brackets give the breakdown between the emperor-sourced and other-sourced hostility. The figures to the right of the brackets indicate the proportion of the total formed by each category.

The pattern of hostility is the following:

		Suetonius		HA	
Hit, kill	A	440 (267+173)	40.2%	284 (154+130)	51.6%
Deprive	B	173 (128+45)	15.8	81 (33+46)	14.7
Torment	C	56 (43+13)	5.1	31 (26+5)	5.6
Criticise	D	349 (146+203)	31.9	111 (46+65)	20.1
Hate	E	43 (21+22)	3.9	32 (13+19)	5.8
Impede	F	34 (19+15)	3.1	11 (5+6)	2.0

In both authors, categories B, C, E and F form the smallest categories and partly for that reason the variation of their relative salience within each author, as distinct from their absolute frequency, is not great¹⁵. A good deal of robbing, abandoning, banishing, betraying (B) goes on. The HA physical violence (A) score is, proportionately, about 11% higher than Suetonius', and his verbal violence (D) about 11% lower. Suetonius' A and D scores in particular show that emperors can resort to physical violence more than others, whereas their subjects mainly¹⁶ have to have recourse to criticising, gossip, lampoons, graffiti, abusing and accusing. Notable in both authors is the extent to which the subjects of the lives, rather than others, cause suffering, fear and anxiety in others (C), as when Tiberius offers Agrippina an apple which he knows she will suspect is poisoned (*Tib.* 53.1) or when Hadrian pries into the affairs of his friends (*Had.* 11.4).

For goodwill the pattern is as follows:

¹⁵ The frequency of each category per thousand words works out as follows: Suetonius: A-6.4, B-2.5, C-0.8, D-5.1, E-0.6, F-0.5. HA: A-10.7, B-3.0, C-1.2, D-4.2, E-1.2, F-0.4.

¹⁶ In some cases the other who expresses hostility in a life was an emperor who reigned before the subject of the life acceded, e.g. Caligula having Claudius thrown into the river in 39 (*Cla.* 9.1). And the main subject of a life can express hostility before becoming emperor, e.g. Tiberius prosecuting Fannius Caepio in 23 B.C. (*Tib.* 8). Because others are the targets of hostility from both emperors and others, overall they score higher as recipients than emperors do. Suetonius: 261 emperors, 834 others; HA: 158 emperors, 392 others.

		Suetonius		HA	
Love	A	114 (81+33)	19.1%	96 (69+27)	18.9%
Pity	B	20 (5+15)	3.4	8 (4+4)	1.6
Praise	C	166 (68+98)	27.9	190 (96+94)	37.3
Help	D	242 (192+50)	40.6	182 (135+47)	35.7
Forgive	E	35 (31+4)	5.9	27 (25+2)	5.3
Trust	F	19 (12+7)	3.2	7 (3+4)	1.4

B, E and F form the smallest categories in both authors and do not differ greatly in their relative salience within the goodwill patterns. In both authors, categories C and D together comprise the bulk of the instances but there is more emphasis on helping and favouring (C) in Suetonius and more on praising and honouring (D) in the HA¹⁷.

Analysis of subsamples: status of agents and recipients of hostility

Further analysis is based upon similar sized subsamples (Suetonius 18,787 words, HA 18,236), chosen to comprise a similar blend of «good» (Vespasian, Titus, Marcus), «bad» (Caligula, Commodus, Severus) and ambivalently presented emperors (Claudius, Hadrian). In these subsamples we will be analysing the social status of the others, both as agents and recipients, and the causes, purposes and effects of instances of hostility. The issue of status is important because ancient writers tended to define a hostile act as cruel, not so much by the act itself, but by the character, merit and status of those involved.

Suetonius' subsample has 271 instances of hostility, the HA 399. Of these, 102 in Suetonius and 184 in the HA are agents who are not emperors, which means that emperors are the source of hostility 62% of the time in Suetonius and 54% in the HA¹⁸. In some instances, social status of agents cannot be determined because the agent is designated as «men», «some», «many», «all», «a certain», «someone», 27 times in both authors, and comprising a category called indeterminates¹⁹.

¹⁷ The frequency of each category per thousand words works out as: Suetonius: A-1.7, B-0.3, C-2.4, D-3.5, E-0.5, F-0.3; HA: A-3.6, B-0.3, C-7.1, D-6.8, E-1.0, F-0.3. Compared with Suetonius, Love (A) and Help (B) occur twice as often in the HA, Praise (C) three times as often.

¹⁸ For the entire sample, emperors are responsible for 57% of the instances in Suetonius, 54% in the HA.

¹⁹ On the generally hostile attitude of unidentified commentators on emperors, see D. PAUW, *Impersonal Expressions and Unidentified Spokesmen in Greek and Roman Hagiography and Biography*, *AClass* 23 (1980), p. 83-95, esp. 91-92.

Miscellaneous is a category that includes people designated by their occupation (wrestler, writer, philosopher) or by their behaviour (informers, criminal, petitioners, audiences, litigants): 5 in Suetonius, 6 in the HA. All remaining other agents can be allocated to one of the following statuses held by the person at the time of the instance: slave, ex-slave, imperial ex-slave, foreigner (client and independent, ruler and people), populace (*populus*, *plebs*), provincial, Italian, soldier or bodyguard, equestrian (includes women and minors of that *ordo*), senatorial (as with the equestrians, a corporate body the senate, or individuals of the *ordo* and their wives and children), members (by blood, marriage or adoption) of the imperial family (put into a separate category even though, like Germanicus or Aelius Caesar, they can also be senators) and, finally, other emperors, mentioned in the life but not its main subject. Those in the indeterminate and miscellaneous categories could be any of the statuses in this list. In Suetonius, unsurprisingly, the largest groups of other agents are imperial family members (14), other emperors (12), senatorials (12) and equestrians (10). No other status has more than 5. Lesser status within the hierarchy coincides with less reported hostile agency. In the HA, the distribution of other agents is quite different: 86 senatorials, 17 foreigners, 15 equestrians and no other status larger than 8. Taken together with the instances of the emperor as agent (Suetonius 169, HA 215), the emphasis on the upper echelons is predictable enough but in the HA there is proportionately less focus on the emperor and the imperial family. The prominence of senatorials in the HA is also reflected in their share of the other recipients total: 87 out of 302, where indeterminates (50) and foreigners (40) also figure prominently²⁰. Except for other emperors only featuring 7 times, Suetonius' recipients of hostility tends to mirror their prominence as agents: 41 senatorials, 35 imperial family and 22 equestrians, but his biggest category is that of miscellaneous (52)²¹.

²⁰ Imperial family (22), miscellaneous (21), equestrians (21) and provincials (19) are also fairly common recipients in the HA. Emperors are recipients 97 times out of 399, in Suetonius 53 times out of 271. The prominence of senatorials as agents and recipients in the HA may reflect in a way that Suetonius does not their importance in legislative activity. On a few occasions where the status of a named person was not evident from the narrative, reference was made to the *Prosopographia Imperii Romani*

²¹ As recipients, miscellaneous also contain a group of people who have been created and labelled by some judicial process or other treatment: victims, prisoners, condemned, exiles, suspects.

Causes, purposes and effects of hostility

Concerning the causes, purposes and effects of hostility, an important statistic is how often none is explicitly given or cannot be reasonably inferred from the narrative alone (i.e. not supplied from other sources). Circumstantial detail is far more common in Suetonius in the way of cause and purpose, though not effects. In 32% of the instances in the subsample, cause is lacking, purpose in 38% and effects in 78%. Compare the HA: causes are lacking in 62% of the instances, purposes 80% and effects 74%²². Sometimes an instance is given with no evident cause, purpose *or* effect, such as Caligula secretly executing people and claiming they had committed suicide (*Cal.* 26.2). The frequent absence of circumstantial detail in the HA helps convey a sense of randomness and mystery about many events, as if they occur in a partial vacuum²³. In both authors, causes are overwhelmingly presented as reactions to something someone has done or failed to do, such as Caligula having the actor Apelles flogged for hesitating to say that he was greater than Jupiter (*Cal.* 33), or Severus putting senators to death for supporting Niger and Albinus (*Sev.* 9.8, 13.1-7)²⁴. Rare are attacks on people for some

²² The 104 instances when effects were given in the HA and the 59 in Suetonius were arranged in a number of categories, such as whether the agent or recipient of the instance was subsequently enhanced or deprived in some way by the hostility. It was deprivation of the recipient (e.g., *Com.* 10.5, a corpulent person's intestines pouring out after Commodus cut open his stomach) that occurred most frequently in both authors. The lack of reported effect is particularly intriguing in the light of what causes show: so much hostile action is a response to what others have done. Since an act of hostility almost invariably elicits strong feelings of anger and humiliation on the part of the recipient, why so few reports of retaliation? Part of the answer may lie in the simple inability of recipients to retaliate.

²³ It may be significant that the «good» emperors Titus and Marcus have high instances of no evident purpose to cases of hostility in the biographies, 15 out of 21 and 45 out of 49 respectively, as if the goodness of their reigns makes hostility harder to account for.

²⁴ A list of 41, which includes some bogus names (but which add to the impression of Severus as a «bad» emperor). See F. JACQUES, *Les 'nobiles' exécutés par Septime Sévère selon l'«Histoire Auguste»: liste de proscription ou énumération fantaisiste?*, *Latomus* 51 (1992), p. 119-144; A.R. BIRLEY, *Further Notes on HA Severus*, in G. BONAMENTE – F. PASCHOUD (eds.), *Historiae Augustae Colloquium Genevense* (1991), Bari 1994, p. 19-42, esp. 27-34. The main source for this life, Marius Maximus, despite having served Severus in the civil war, had reason to be anti-Severus and to harp on his cruelty. His apparent interest in informers and imperial *amici*, typical of a senatorial writer, would shape the configuration of hostility and goodwill present in sampled lives, lives that use the Suetonian rubrics.

physical or character trait, such as Vespasian being naturally avaricious (*Ves.* 16.3, 19, 20) and Sabina's harsh temper (*Had.* 11.3)²⁵. Outside the subsample there are cases such as Vitellius being taunted by the mob for bodily defects such as his large stomach and limp while being led captive through the streets of Rome (*Vit.* 17.2). In the HA rare, too, are causes that are spontaneous or proactive, stemming from a desire or trait of the agent, such as Severus' desire for glory leading to war with Parthia (*Sev.* 15.1), Commodus' cruelty (*Com.* 9.5) and imitation of Hercules (*Com.* 9.6), or the madness of the slave who tried to kill Hadrian (*Had.* 12.5). This type of cause, however, is much more common in Suetonius, 56 times in the subsample, the majority of these instances (39) being apparently caused by Caligula's cruelty, bloodthirstiness, sadism, brutality, need for money and insecurity²⁶. Claudius too acts from cruelty and bloodthirstiness (*Cla.* 34-36), and the violent temper of Caligula's daughter leads her to attack her playmates (*Cal.* 25.4). What is absent are causes that we know from other sources can be influential, such as resentment at taxation causing rebellion and ethnic prejudice leading to communal violence²⁷.

Below is a table that groups the different purposes or motives that can lie behind hostile behaviour, together with the distribution of instances in the two authors.

²⁵ *Had.* 11.3. 6 examples in Suetonius (out of 183 recorded causes) and 9 in the HA (out of 152 recorded causes). Caesar's baldness is ridiculed, Tiberius' unattractively austere manner resented (*Jul.* 45.2, *Tib.* 21.2).

²⁶ E.g., *Cal.* 35-39. Cf. L. COCHRAN, *art. cit.* (n. 10), on Suetonius' concern with internal control and self-discipline, and the lack of it in bad emperors, and A. WALLACE-HADRILL, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 162, on Suetonius' demonstration of the terrifying consequences of power not being held in check by moral restraint. On causes and effects, J. GASCOU, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 425, has observed a frequent indifference by Suetonius to both, and commonly there is a disproportion between cause and effect, as in his account of Claudius' invasion of Britain.

²⁷ Further to this point, it is instructive to note the causes of enmity given by D. EPSTEIN, *Personal Enmity in Roman Politics, 218-43 B.C.*, London 1987, p. 34-63, for enmity in the late Republic: personal insults, misplaced wit, disagreements, infidelities (because of the insults they conveyed), being ignored or unrecognised, ferocious competition for limited fame and glory, and envy towards comparatively (and sometimes excessively) successful few. The emperor was a natural target of envy, particularly amongst those who were slow to appreciate the principate's permanence and tendency to concentrate power and resources.

	Suetonius	HA
A	Norm enforcement; action in the name of the law, common morality, group expectation	49 (esp. Claudius) 13 (esp. Hadrian and Severus)
B	Revenge; defence of own reputation, honour; jealousy	23 (esp. Caligula) 27 (esp. Severus)
C	Self-defence, removal of physical or psychological pressure, response to threat	26 (esp. Caligula) 16 (esp. Commodus)
D	Self-enhancement; predation; bullying sadism, greed, exploitation	62 (esp. Caligula) 14
E	Defence of others	4 7
F	Other motives	5 1
	Total	169 78
	Add instances where no purpose evident	102 321
	Overall totals	271 399

Cause and purpose can overlap, as when a desire to gratify sadistic impulses can be both cause and purpose of hostile behaviour but, mostly, they are distinguishable. When Hadrian intervened against procurators, the cause of his action was the improper use of power, the purpose was to enforce a norm governing proper procuratorial behaviour (*Had.* 3.9). When a procurator had the exiled Crassus Frugi killed without an order from Hadrian, the alleged cause was Crassus' attempting to escape, the purpose may have been to benefit Hadrian (*Had.* 5.6). Obviously inferences about motive must be tentative and since more than one motive can be present in any act, conjecture as to which predominates is subjective. Nevertheless, however approximate the above figures, one might venture that anti-social self-enhancement and pro-social norm-enforcement antitheses play a larger role in Suetonius than in the HA, where self-concerned motives such as revenge and self-defence occupy larger proportions of the total.

When Claudius removed the mark of censure from a knight's name and yet insisted the erasure be seen, he was, albeit idiosyncratically,

enforcing a norm, maintaining at least a remnant of the social disapproval for the past of a man whose friends had now managed to influence the emperor (*Cla.* 16.1). A more straightforward example of norm-enforcement is when he dismissed from the list of jurors (i.e., men who would hear cases conducted in Latin) a Greek who knew no Latin (*Cla.* 16.2). When certain men abandoned weak and sick slaves on the island of Aesculapius in the Tiber, they were acting out of greedy self-interest and callous indifference to others (*Cla.* 25.2). In ordering that gladiators who fell accidentally should be slain, so that he could watch their faces as they died, Claudius seems to have been indulging a sadistic streak (*Cla.* 34.1). Unknown persons who arrested a man with a dagger near Claudius were acting to defend another (*Cla.* 36.1). When Claudius banished without a hearing an innocent clerk who had behaved intemperately towards Claudius before he became emperor, the apparent motive was revenge (*Cla.* 38.2). In one version of Claudius' death, Suetonius has Agrippina poisoning Claudius in order to remove a threat to her and Nero (*Cla.* 43-44.1). Scribonius' immediate purpose in revolting from Claudius was to remove him from power, but his ultimate purpose (to install himself or restore the Republic?) is unclear from Suetonius' narrative (*Cla.* 13.2, 35.2). Caligula ordered criminals to be fed to wild beasts gathered for the arena, since cattle were too expensive. The aim was to cut costs (*Cal.* 27.1).

The perception of hostility

Presenting motivation as we have done, while acknowledging possible multi-factorial motivation, treats the issue much as Suetonius and HA do, largely on the level of manifest, surface behaviour, and does not delve too deeply into the latent psychological mechanisms of paranoia, fear, shame, guilt, narcissism and envy, whether inherent in human nature or shaped by factors such as Roman childhood and adolescent experiences, competitiveness, drive for power, the presence of slavery, the violence of the educational system, the harshness of military discipline, the inevitable insecurities of autocracy, the ferocity of criminal punishment, the nature of public entertainment, the endemic ambiguities, frauds and hypocrisies of the principate and the relationship between ruler and subjects and between Romans and subjects, not to mention the peculiar formative childhood experiences of rulers such as Tiberius, Claudius and Nero which Suetonius describes. The Romans

regarded unmerited attacks on the rich as worse than such attacks on the poor and thought cruelty was less serious if done from rational and deliberate motives, rather than emotion and caprice²⁸. Nor does it go into whether criticism and abuse, for example, could be projection and reaction formation (attempting to convince oneself and others that one has certain virtues and not certain vices by praise and condemnation of them in others). Focussing just on hostility yields a bleak picture of the early principate, a world where people are killed, hurt or cruelly punished, sometimes arbitrarily and illegally, at a powerful man's whim or angry outburst, or in order to serve as a warning in a society that lacked adequate law-enforcement agencies and needed to terrorise people into staying within the law and within their station, where gossip was a weapon of the weak which could lacerate the reputations of even benign emperors, where the price of political failure was death, exile or, at best, disgrace, humiliation and poverty for some of the elite who might otherwise enjoy enviable material security. There emerges a world of riots, demonstrations, foreign and civil wars, plots and espionage, invective, insults, scorn, hatred, feuds, treachery, revenge, dismissal, and of apparent threats and fantasies by, for example, Caligula, Nero and Commodus of mass extermination. Even the mild Pius can express anger at certain kings on his deathbed (*Ant.* 12.8) and the clement Marcus could be harsh towards those guilty of serious crimes (*Mar.* 24.1)²⁹. Fortunately there is a countervailing, softening picture of recurrent goodwill in both authors, however hypocritical, self-serving, dutiful, manipulative those signs of goodwill may be at times, especially in the HA, where, in a more extreme antithesis, goodwill almost balances a panorama of hostility

²⁸ Three works that deal with some of the undercurrents that could promote hostility are: P. PLASS, *Wit and the Writing of History*, Madison 1988; C. BARTON, *The Sorrows of the Romans*, Princeton 1993; and, despite its late Republican focus, D. EPSTEIN, *op. cit.* (n. 27). Although the arena had changed, some nobles, particularly under the Julio-Claudians, were slow to grasp this. There are some useful remarks in A. LINTOTT, *Cruelty in the Political Life of the Ancient World*, in T. VILJAMAA – A. TIMONEN – C. KRÖTZL (eds.), *Crudelitas. The Politics of Cruelty in the Ancient and Medieval World*, Turku 1992, p. 9–27. L. SAUL, *op. cit.* (n. 5), p. 187, lists five chief sources of hostility: 1. Insatiable needs to be loved. 2. Extreme demands for prestige, motivated by envy and rivalry. 3. Disordered conscience. 4. Persistent and childish dependence. 5. Revenge for misguided treatment during childhood. On the evidence of Suetonius alone, one can see the first three sources in much of Nero's behaviour and it would not be surprising if number 5 was behind some of Claudius' behaviour. Burning desire for revenge is evident in some of the deeds of Severus and Caracalla.

²⁹ Tacitus, *Hist.* I 2 provides a succinct, contemporary and corroborative survey for the years 69 to 96. But he is also cheered by examples of courage and loyalty, I 3.

even bleaker than that of Suetonius³⁰. And some of the reported hostility may not always have been as bad as it appears. Emperors could jest and, while scarcely a mark of respect for the senate, Caligula's reported proposal to make his horse consul may have been only a joke (*Cal.* 55.3). It can suit Suetonius and other critics of an emperor to take more seriously than it deserves Caligula's spoken wish that the Roman people had only one neck³¹, and to embroider a deplorable episode from the repertoire of stock tyrant lore³². A certain amount of mockery has its pleasures for the agent, for third party observers, and even for recipients if egos were not too fragile³³. However, it is the perceptions and portrayals of Suetonius and the HA that is the issue here, not the «reality», and not how much of their own hostility and hostile fantasies are poured into the writing. And not knowing how seriously to take an emperor at times was one of the disconcerting insecurities of life in the principate³⁴.

Analysis of subsample: status of agents and recipients of goodwill

Turning to the instances of goodwill in the subsample, the emperor has, proportionately, a similar role to play as a source of goodwill in Suetonius, 61% of 189 instances (cf. hostility 62%), and larger one in the HA, 69% of 352 (cf. hostility 54%), with Hadrian and Marcus supplying the bulk of the 243 instances. In the HA, the figure that stands out in the distribution by status of other agents is 52 (out of 109) from other emperors, mostly explained by the subject of a life being honoured in some way by previous emperors. With senatorials supplying 26 and no other group more than 6, goodwill in the HA is very much something that comes from the highest strata. Suetonius, by contrast, has a more even

³⁰ For discussion of *meritum*, *beneficium*, *gratia* and *officium*, and the place of *utilitas* in *amicitia*, R. SALLER, *op. cit.* (n. 4), p. 14.

³¹ *Cal.* 30.2. Cf. P. PLASS, *op. cit.* (n. 28), p. 67, 86.

³² Cf. *Cal.* 37.4. Cf. A. RICHLIN, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 91, on rhetorical, stereotyped tyrants and for the view that most anti-emperor stories belong to folklore rather than history.

³³ *Ves.* 12, 13, 20, 23.1, and provided the the *scurra* did not go too far. Cf. Dio LXV 11: whenever scurrilous graffiti were posted around the city against Vespasian, he would simply post an equally scurrilous reply. An external object on which to vent hostility can relieve intolerable internal pressures. Aggressive behaviour can shore up the self, and fend off feelings of vulnerability and intimations of mortality. Violence and cruelty are ways of distinguishing humans from subhumans, ingroups from outgroups.

³⁴ The above perception of hostility can be elaborated if we note for what the main subject as emperor was attacked or criticised when information is explicitly given. See appendix, below.

spread, so that while other emperors also score most highly (15 out of 73), unknown (11), the populace (10), troops (10) and senatorials (10) also figure prominently. As recipients of goodwill, emperors account for 26% of instances in Suetonius, 23% in the HA, which in this case has the more even spread of statuses: the imperial family scores 64, senatorials 50, miscellaneous 46 and other emperors 35, reflecting for example the way Hadrian was honoured by Pius, and the populace 19. Suetonius has the imperial family most prominent (52) but other groups figure much less prominently, miscellaneous 29, senatorials 12, unknown 10, and imperial freedmen 8, reflecting the indulgence of Claudius and appearing not at all in the HA. Whether as agents or recipients, senatorials and other emperors figure prominently in the HA, and whereas in Suetonius and the HA together miscellaneous figure as recipients 75 times, only once are they an agent. Whereas in Suetonius, senatorials, equestrians and a large and diverse miscellaneous group are the major targets of hostility, they are less prominent as recipients as goodwill. In the HA it is senatorials, foreigners and unknowns who are the main targets of hostility, whereas it is the imperial family, senators, other emperors and miscellaneous who are the main recipients of goodwill. Provincials figure more often as recipients of both hostility and goodwill in the HA than in Suetonius³⁵.

Causes, purposes and effects of goodwill

The figures for the absence of circumstantial detail in the HA are 64% of the 352 instances of goodwill in the case of causes, 51% in the case of purpose and 84% in the case of effects. The corresponding figures for Suetonius are 70%, 36% and 67%. Overall, Suetonius is better at supplying circumstantial detail in instances of hostility than of goodwill, the HA slightly better with goodwill. For both authors the chief causes of goodwill can be given either as signs of appreciation for a service or benefit (HA 48 out of 128, Suetonius 56 out of 132) or of genuine affection, generosity of spirit and a sense of fellow feeling (HA 57, Suetonius 51). Instances in the HA subsample of signs of appreciation come mainly from the Marcus life. Marcus thanked the senate for deifying Verus and Faustina (*Mar.* 20.2, 26.7), and honoured his teachers for

³⁵ See A. TIMONEN, *Prejudices against Provincials in the Historia Augusta*, *Arctos* 25 (1980), p. 183-197.

what they taught him (*Mar.* 3.5). On his death the senate and people hailed him as a kindly god for his benevolence as emperor, and decreed a temple and priests for him (*Mar.* 18.3, 8). The Hadrian life provides a number of instances too, such as Trajan rewarding Hadrian with a diamond for his distinguished service in the Dacian war (*Had.* 3.6) and with a consulship for maintaining discipline amongst the troops and curbing the procurators (*Had.* 3.9). The Parthians were well disposed towards Hadrian because he removed the king Trajan had imposed upon them upon them (*Had.* 21.10). The senate offered a triumph to Severus for his successes against the Parthians (*Sev.* 16.6). Instances of the second category, fellow feeling, solicitude and the desire to be helpful are naturally found in Suetonius' Titus: it was his firm practice never to let a petitioned go away without hope (*Tit.* 8.1); he promised a gladiatorial show simply because spectators wished it, never refused a request and even encouraged people to ask for what they wanted (*Tit.* 8.2). Vespasian provided a dowry and fine match for the daughter of his enemy Vitellius (*Ves.* 14). When Caligula fell ill early in his reign, large crowds gathered outside the palace and some vowed to fight as gladiators or offer their own lives if they recovered (*Cal.* 14.2). Vows were offered for his safe return when he journeyed to islands off Campania (*Cal.* 14.2). And Caligula could show generosity too. Like Titus he readily granted a request for games (*Cal.* 18.3). He loved his wife Caesonia ardently and constantly (*Cal.* 25.3) and kissed the pantomime actor Mnester even in the theatre (*Cal.* 55.1). His sisters exhumed his half-burnt corpse, cremated it properly and put the ashes in a tomb (*Cal.* 59). The next most common cause of a goodwill gesture was the need to win support and popularity or to plan for the future: Suetonius 19, HA 14. Claudius promised each praetorian guardsman 1500 sesterces, «the first Caesar to win the loyalty of the troops by pledging a reward» (*Cla.* 10.4; cf. *Had.* 5.6), and declared an amnesty for all that had been said and done during the two-day interregnum (*Cla.* 11.1). Hadrian gave a double *congiarium* to the people of Rome on his return in 118 in order to check rumours about himself (*Had.* 7.4). He adopted the future Antoninus Pius to ensure an orderly succession on his death (*Had.* 21.1; cf. *Mar.* 5.1), who in turn commended Marcus to his friends and prefects as death drew near (*Mar.* 7.3). Only rarely does a need to compensate for injury or loss occur, such as the senate voting to rebuild at public expense the house Claudius lost through fire (*Cla.* 6.2) and Claudius vowing to make things up to Britannicus for having impaired his chances of succession

(*Cla.* 43). Other causes include Severus' desire for harmony between his sons and his wish to annoy the senate by deifying Commodus (*Sev.* 21.10, 17.11). While many instances of goodwill can be a reaction to what someone has done, such as making a request, much more frequently than with hostility does goodwill stem from an innate desire or trait of an agent.

The majority (101) of the HA's 174 given purposes can be classified to show honour or respect, such as Hadrian asking the senate for divine honours for Trajan (*Had.* 6.1) and the senate decreeing a triumph for Marcus and Commodus (*Com.* 2.4-5) and Severus bestowing the title of Caesar upon Caracalla (*Sev.* 14.3). Such a motive occupies a smaller proportion of Suetonius' given purposes (50 out of 121) but it remains the most important purpose. Examples include grateful inhabitants of Asia erecting statues to Vespasian's father for being an honest tax-collector (*Ves.* 1.2), Vespasian honouring his grandmother's memory by drinking from a silver cup that once belonged to her on special days of the year (*Ves.* 2.1) and Claudius recognising Vespasian's exploits as a legionary commander in Britain with triumphal regalia, priesthoods and a consulship (*Ves.* 4.2). Also prominent, particularly in Suetonius (42 instances), is the aim to help, appreciate, support in a less formally honorific way such as Otho burning letters that might incriminate his supporters (*Oth.* 10.2), Caligula seeking to ease the burden on jurors by adding a fifth *decuria* (*Cal.* 16.2), Claudius thanking Narcissus for being vigilant about Claudius' safety even when he (Narcissus) was asleep (*Cla.* 27.1) and the Parthian king Vologaesús promising 40,000 archers to help Vespasian's cause against Vitellius (*Ves.* 6.4). Other motives include winning popularity (an overlap with causes here) and a miscellaneous group including Claudius showing leniency in many court cases to demonstrate his notions of justice (*Cla.* 14), Vespasian trying to recall those sent to kill Helvidius Priscus in order to save his life (*Ves.* 15) and Severus sending Caracalla a speech from Sallust that he hoped would conciliate his feuding sons (*Sev.* 21.10). Concerning the mentioned effects of instances of goodwill, in both authors enhancement of the recipient is the most common effect, in both cases comprising nearly one third of the examples³⁶.

³⁶ Cf. n. 18 for the effects of hostility. An act of goodwill can fail to enhance the agent (flattery can irritate if underdone or overdone) or fail to achieve its object (like Severus trying to bring his sons together, an effort neither of them may have appreciated), or can disadvantage the agent, recipient or third party. Enhance subject: Caligula honoured the

The perception of goodwill

Severus deifying Commodus as part of an anti-senatorial policy reminds us that, although it enhances the (memory of the) recipient and thus fits our working definition of goodwill, an act of goodwill may not please everybody, any more than acts of hostility necessarily displease or disadvantage everybody. Signs of goodwill to a bad emperor could be a sign of alienation from the self and identification with the aggressor, even, in some cases, a questionable loyalty to the perceived need for group cohesion and social order. An act of goodwill towards A may require an act of hostility towards B. An act of violence, like beating an errant child or dull pupil, might be thought to be an act of kindness, for the good of the recipient, even if in reality it perpetuates cycles of violence. Punishment of a crime might be considered to be for the benefit of the community. While there is a formal, ritualistic and often insincere element in much of the goodwill related by the authors, as in funeral eulogies, there is also much kindness, clemency, affection and loyalty, although in the frequent absence of circumstantial detail one has to take the instances at face value³⁷. People offer support, grant tax relief, remit rent, grant posts and privileges, give gifts and rewards, food and money, banquets and entertainment, land and legacies, reinstate the deprived, prevent embarrassment for a host by using his rancid oil, mourn losses and bereavements, offer to serve without pay and rations, console and comfort, rescue from kidnappers, promote reconciliations, forgive opponents and reveal a plot, just to give some examples from the life of Caesar. In a society where the institution of patronage required an exchange of services, where, in a world where not everything can be bought with money, one sought to build up a degree of social security and political capital by the bestowal of benefits and putting others under an obligation, where generosity honoured the giver rather than the recipient, and

memory of his mother and brother Nero by sailing to recover their ashes from the islands where they died and bring them back to Rome, «and in a violent storm, so that his *pietas* might stand out more» (*Cal.* 15.1). Disadvantage subject: the help Ennia and Macro gave to Caligula to succeed Tiberius was rewarded by a bloody death (*Cal.* 26.1). Disadvantage object: Caligula's passionate love for Caesonia involved threats to torture her to find out why he loved her so (*Cal.* 33, perhaps the threat was not meant seriously). Disadvantage another: a consequence of Caligula's devotion to actor Mnester was a flogging for anyone who made the slightest noise while he was performing (*Cal.* 55.1).

³⁷ The very first instance supplied by Suetonius has Julius Caesar refusing to divorce Cornelia at the behest of the dictator Sulla (*Jul.* 1.2). But was this only devotion to Cornelia or a refusal to be dictated to?

where flattery was often prudent policy, much of the apparent goodwill was no more than a necessary social lubricant and/or hypocritical veneer of goodwill³⁸. Yet the kindness and affability of men like Vespasian, Pius and Marcus was recognised and appreciated by contemporaries and goes beyond their bestowal of magistracies, immunities, privileges, statuses, offices and honours to produce a web of shared and reciprocal benefits. The affection of Tiberius for Vipsania, Caligula for Drusilla and Hadrian for Antinous was genuine enough.

SUMMARY

To sum up: in many respects, Suetonius' and the HA's treatments of hostility and goodwill are similar. The relative unimportance of hostility categories Deprive (B), Torment (C), Hate (E) and Impede (F), like the range of social categories to which agents and recipients belong, the low profile of certain low status groups as agents and the high profile of senators as recipients, causes of hostility being overwhelmingly presented as reactions to the behaviour of others, the low rate of given effects, all are true of both authors. The differences are that instances in the HA of hostility are nearly one third again as frequent. There is more Violence in the HA (A), more Criticism in Suetonius (D). Suetonius much more often gives the cause and purpose of hostility, and the nature of his motivation, where given, is more about self-enhancement and norm-enforcement than revenge and self-defence, and amongst causes, a desire or trait of the agent figures much more often. Senatorials dominate the list of agents in the HA, other emperors and the imperial family are the most active in Suetonius. The HA has more focus on non-Roman recipients, Suetonius on the imperial family.

Concerning their treatment of goodwill, similarities are emperors being more often the sources of goodwill than of hostility, about two-

³⁸ Cf. A. HANDS, *Charities and Social Aid in Greece and Rome*, London 1968, p. 26: «In the vast majority of texts and documents relating to gifts in the ancient world, it is quite clear that the giver's action is self-regarding, in the sense that he anticipates from the recipient of his gift some sort of return. To the modern mind such 'giving' may seem more like an economic transaction than altruistic gesture». However, Hands goes on to point out that, far from this process being amoral, it formed the basis of friendly intercourse and was vital for one's security and prestige. Moreover, there was a concept of disinterested, non-reciprocal, minimal gift and service giving, like giving water to a thirsty stranger or burying an unburied corpse.

thirds of the time, members of the imperial family being frequent recipients, a similar disposition of types of causes, an emphasis on honorific purposes, and similar sized categories of goodwill, except for Praise (C), considerably higher in the HA. Other differences include the prominence of emperors as recipients in the HA, senatorials more active as agents in the HA, a greater social spread of agents in Suetonius, and Suetonius more often giving the causes, purposes and effects of goodwill.

Overall, hostility occurs more frequently than goodwill (though not by much in the HA), and a similar range of social categories, whether of agents or recipients, occurs in both areas. The percentage of instances where effects are given is similar in hostility but higher in Suetonius' goodwill, more causes and purposes are given by Suetonius in hostility, and the HA has a greater overall frequency of hostility and goodwill. In both areas, the HA features senatorials as agents and gives more prominence to foreigners and provincials as recipients.

There is little in either author to contradict impressions provided by other literary sources on the nature of political and social life in the principate. Senators and emperors had to and did co-operate and gratify each other but some emperors conducted psychological warfare against the senate and any possible threats with displays of caprice, unpredictability, humiliation and force. Other tactics such as fostering disunity and suborning others to do their dirty work occurred too, but this is not something our categories are designed to catch. However, regardless of relations between the senate and a particular emperor, society as a whole cohered through myriad reciprocal benefits and bonds of genuine esteem and affection, and through displays of deference and loyalty that are only occasionally recorded by the sources.

CONCLUSION

In an autocracy, like in any society, certain conflicts and tensions, certain honorific gestures and expressions of favour, whether sincere or calculated, will manifest and be part of the social landscape. How any author reports these, both as regards their overall frequency and their disposition in particular categories, will be the combined result of the author's personality, preoccupations, ideology, perception of the present and available material. This study has sought to throw some light on

how Suetonius and the HA portray two distinct³⁹ and important areas of behaviour by a content analysis that seeks to delineate the pictures by presenting statistics, similarities, differences, examples and a summary. To focus only on what emperors did and said would have given more focus to the material but at the cost of a wider view of how the author saw all men and women behaving, snapshots from the early 2nd and late 4th centuries. The historical periods they cover are virtually contiguous, their times of writing more than 250 years apart. Suetonius lived through some of the events he described, the HA relied on heavily Marius Maximus, a distinguished senatorial who likewise lived through some of the events in the lives. It could be that the HA's emphasis on physical violence reflects the growth of political savagery and social strife in the late fourth century, and his emphasis on honours reflects the popularity of panegyric in the dominate, but his own tastes and prejudices and those of his sources may be more important factors⁴⁰.

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APPENDIX: WHAT EMPERORS ARE CRITICISED AND PRAISED FOR

The following list is confined to criticisms of rulers after they began their reigns, beginning with Augustus:

Augustus: too stringent marriage laws, perceived restrictions on free speech in the senate, his taste for deflowering virgins (34.1, 54.1, 71.1).

Tiberius: his apparent hypocrisy about accepting power, wasting the time of African envoys, indecent assault on acolyte and flute-player, indecency towards Mallonia, Germanicus' death, treatment and exile of Agrippina, provocations of Nero and Drusus, his cruelty (twice), general unpopularity (24.2, 31.2, 44.2, 45, 52.3, 53.2, 54.2, 59, 66, 75.3).

Claudius: failure to prevent famine (18.2).

Nero: his excessive wickedness, misusing his talents, crimes and murderous wishes, suspected desire to loot Gaul, excesses and failures, bad lyre-playing, famine, unpopularity (three times) (36.2, 39.1, 39.3, 39.3, 40.4, 41.1, 41.1, 45.1, 45.2, 47.2, 49.2).

Galba: his stinginess, discharging some praetorians, unpopularity (13, 16.1, 20.1).

³⁹ While recognising that an act of goodwill can be an act of hostility and vice versa, depending on who is affected and allowing for mixed motives.

⁴⁰ Such as «Neronizing» Commodus and Caracalla. See R. PENELLA, *Caracalla and his Mother in the Historia Augusta*, *Historia* 29 (1980), p. 382-384.

- Vitellius: gluttony, burning temple of Jupiter (17, 17).
 Vespasian: covetousness and shameless methods of money raising (five times) (16.1, 16.3, 19.2, 23.3).
 Domitian: tyrannical behaviour (three times) (23.1).
 Hadrian: death of four ex-consuls, destroying gains and buildings of Trajan, homosexuality, adultery, disloyalty to friends, excessive *civilitas*, natural cruelty, dishonest healings, excesses at end of reign (7.3, 9.2, 11.7, 20.1, 20.3, 25.4, 28.2).
 Pius: insufficient generosity to household (4.6).
 Marcus: reading at the games, for tolerating Faustina's adultery, insincerity, encouraging the arrogance of the court (15.1, 29.3, 29.7).
 Commodus: inappropriate appointment to consulship, ridiculous pretensions, being a murderer, gladiator, foe to gods and senate, plundering temples, setting aside wills and robbing heirs, selling admission to the senate, encouraging spies, informers and slaves to inform (8.1, 8.9, 18-19).
 Pertinax: covetousness, being too close to Commodus, criticising sloppy ways of soldiers, reimposing taxes Commodus had remitted, stinginess (3.1, 5.2, 6.1, 7.7, 13.5).
 Didius: death of Pertinax (4.2, 4.3, 4.7).
 Caracalla: killing Geta (2.7).
 Rulers are praised for the following:
 Augustus: admirable conduct, returning from provinces, blessings of peace, a long and good reign (57.1, 57.2, 98.2, 100.2, 100.3).
 Tiberius: success as general (21.5).
 Caligula: being a new emperor after Tiberius, generous acts (13, 14.1, 16.4).
 Nero: recital in theatre, crowning king of Armenia, desire to be acclaimed as a performer, performance in theatre, victories in competitions (10.2, 13.2, 21.3, 24.1, 25.2).
 Galba: being kind to his bodyguard when they were sick (20.1).
 Otho: buying loyalty of praetorians, being a new emperor, being a reminder of Nero (6.3, 7.1).
 Vitellius: being popular, his arrival in Rome (8.2, 13.2).
 Titus: manifesting the highest virtues, being lovable and popular (7.1, 11).
 Hadrian: suppressing Moorish revolts (12.7).
 Pius: his birthday, his many qualities (5.2, 13.3).
 Marcus: successful Parthian war, consideration to senate, lovability (9.1, 9.2, 12.7, 18.3, 18.5, 18.8).
 Commodus: being so anti-senatorial (16.11-12).
 Pertinax: being so good a ruler (15.2, 15.4).
 Severus: Parthian success (16.6).

NOTES ON VERBAL HUMOUR IN THE *HISTORIA AUGUSTA*

The main division in the field of wit is that into verbal and non-verbal humour: «things designed to raise a laugh may be said or done» (Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* VI 3.25). The present paper will deal only with verbal humour, not with practical jokes, attributed by the author of the *H.A.* to Roman rulers and their subjects.

Within verbal humour (*in dicto ridiculum*) a distinction must be made between humour *in verbis* and humour *in ipsa sententia* or *in rebus*: «the laughter of a witty saying is that which is awakened by something pointed (*quodam acumine*) in words (*verbi*) or in meaning (*sententiae*)» (Cicero, *De oratore* II 244), «though people are most particularly amused whenever laughter is excited by a union of the two» (*D.O.* II 248); «the excitement of laughter (*ridiculum*) has the same primary division as the other departments of oratory, that is to say, it is concerned with things and words (*positum in rebus aut in verbis*)» (*I.O.* VI 3.22)¹.

Humour *in verbis* consists in putting into words: «What is contained in the *ratio* and force of the word is clear and definite (*certa fere ac definita*), but most of it excites more applause than laughter» (*D.O.* II 288) and it loses its charm (*venustatem*) as soon as the words are varied (*II 258*)². As for humour *in rebus*, «What is comprised *in re* and in the very meaning (*in ipsa sententia*) falls», according to *D.O.* II 289, «into innumerable divisions and a few main classes; what excites laughter is disappointing expectations and ridiculing other people's character or pointing out in an amusing way one's own, and resemblance to something uglier, irony, incongruity (*subabsurda*) and reproof of folly». The pleasantries *in rebus* were believed to provoke heartier laughter (*magis ridentur*, *D.O.* II 264) and to be more pointed and more elegant (*acriora et elegantiora*, *I.O.* VI 3.57).

Biographers such as Plutarch and Suetonius appear to have considered the production of humour an activity which they were to

¹ The translations used are those published in the Loeb Classical Library by E.W. Sutton & H. Rackham (CICERO, *De oratore*), H.E. Butler (QUINTILIAN, *Institutio oratoria*), J.C. Rolfe (SUETONIUS, *Vitae XII Caesarum*) and D. Magie (*S.H.A.*).

² Cf. also *D.O.* II 252: *quod quibusquomque verbis dixeris, facetum tamen est, re continetur; quod mutatis verbis salem amittit, in verbis habet leporem omnem.*

cover³, but without having to practice it themselves. The author of the *Historia Augusta*, on the contrary, seems to have taken pleasure in producing humour himself, not only by attributing to his protagonists and his supernumeraries verbal and practical jokes of his own invention⁴, but also by ridiculing rulers whom he disliked⁵, by playing various tricks on his readers⁶, by ironising *toto genere orationis* traditional historiography and by practising aretalogy. Therefore the majority of the puns and jokes in the *H.A.* merely illustrates the sense of humour of its author, which is, on the whole, that of a *ludi magister*, a schoolmaster.

I. HUMOUR IN VERBIS

1. *Intentional misunderstanding*⁷

An instance of intentional misunderstanding available in Dio LXXIII 4.2 (Xiph.) has remained unexploited by the author of the *H.A.*:

while Pertinax was still in Britain (...) and was being accounted worthy of praise on all sides, a horse named Pertinax won a race at Rome. It belonged to the Greens and was favoured by Commodus. So, when its partisans raised a shout, crying, «It is Pertinax!», the others, their opponents, in disgust at Commodus, likewise prayed – with reference to the man rather than to the horse – «Would that it were so!».

³ Not every biographer was of the same opinion: Cornelius Nepos does not say a word on his heroes' sense of humour.

⁴ Long-drawn-out stories of verbal and practical jokes (as *T.T.* 10.3-7 and *Gall.* 20.2-5) were very probably occasioned, like many other forgeries, by the author's lack of information on the early history of several rulers and on whatever history of most pretenders; cf. Nicole Ziegler's note in E. Hohl, *Historia Augusta, Römische Herrscher-gestalten*, II, p. 385, on *Aur.* 6.2: «Diese Notiz (inventing *Aurelianus manu ad ferrum*) scheint – wie fast alles, was über das Leben Aurelians vor seiner Thronbesteigung berichtet wird – vom Verfasser der HA in Ermangelung genauerer Kenntnisse erfunden zu sein».

⁵ Cf. *T.T.* 31.7: *studiose in medio feminas posui ad ludibrium Gallieni, quo nihil prodigius passa est Romana res publica.*

⁶ By writing under different pseudonyms, among them Flavius Vopiscus Syracusius (reminiscent of Strabo Vopiscus, Cicero's main authority on humour in *De Oratore* II, and referring to the reputation of Sicilians in the field of humour, cf. *D.O.* II 217), by pretending to be a contemporary of Diocletian, Constantius Chlorus and Constantine, and by giving on occasion a knowing wink to readers who knew that he was unreliable (cf. sub II 6, irony).

⁷ *Quom ad verbum, non ad sententiam, rem accipere videre (D.O.* II 259); *superest genus decipiendi opinionem aut dicta aliter intelligendi, quae sunt in omni hac materia vel venustissima (I.O.* VI 3.84).

It should also be noted that the *H.A.* has no instances of intentional misunderstanding applied to *non-verbal* data, such as, in Suetonius' *Vitae*, the nodding of a certain Aponius Saturninus, dozed off in an auction hall in the days of Caligula, and the appearance of a comet towards the end of Vespasian's life:

Cal. 38.4: a well-known incident is that of Aponius Saturninus; he fell asleep on one of the benches, and as the auctioneer was warned by Gaius not to overlook the praetorian gentleman who kept nodding to him, the bidding was not stopped until thirteen gladiators were knocked down to the unconscious sleeper at nine million sesterces;

Vesp. 23.4: after, among other prodigies (...), a comet (*stella crinita*, hairy star) had appeared in the sky (...), he said that it referred to the Parthian king who had long hair.

2. *Malicious application of dramatic lines*

In Suetonius' *Lives* there are various short anecdotes on dramatic lines being applied malevolently⁸ by the Roman public to the reigning (or the future) emperor:

Aug. 68: what is more, one day when there were plays in the theatre all the people took as directed against him and loudly applauded the following line, spoken on the stage and referring to a priest of the Mother of the Gods, as he beat his timbrel: «See'st how a wanton's finger sways the world»;

Tib. 45: therefore, during the games that followed, people loudly applauded in an Atellan farce *hircum vetulum capreis naturam ligurire* and that line soon became known all over the town;

Galba 13: therefore he was not particularly welcome on his arrival, as became clear during the next spectacle, for after the actors of Atellanæ had started the well known *venit Onesimus a villa*, the entire audience joined them in singing in unison the rest of that *canticum* and kept repeating and miming it.

On reading *Max.* 9.3 of the *H.A.* one expects something similar:

when he (Maximinus) almost believed himself immortal because of his great size and courage, a certain actor (*mimus*), they say, recited Greek verses in a theatre while he was present;

but the verses in question, of which «a Latin translation» is given, are not the *antiqui versus contra homines asperos scripti*, which Maximinus'

⁸ Benevolent application of lines heard on the stage, as in *Aug.* 53.1 (*o dominum aequum et bonum!*), is mere *urbanitas* and does not belong to the field of humour.

⁹ *Orbem*, meaning both the timbrel's circular surface and the world.

friends told him they were, but a clumsy product¹⁰ of the author's own fantasy, warning against *multi* the one who, on account of his bodily strength, is not afraid of *singuli*, and obviously prepared by 9.3: *cum immortalē se prope crederet ob magnitudinem corporis virtutisque*; except for Maximinus' question *quid mimicus scurra dixisset*, the lines in question receive no response from the audience. Whereas Suetonius' notes on the response of an audience to *mimi* and other *histriones* were a tribute to the *urbanitas* of the Roman public, the anecdote of the H.A. on Maximinus and the stage is merely a coarse gibe against an emperor of inferior extraction, cf. its final clause: «and he, being a Thracian and a barbarian, believed them (i.e. his friends)» (*Max.* 9.5).

3. Quotation of verses¹¹

Although the author of the H.A. asserts in general terms that «very many soldiers use sayings in both Greek and Latin taken from the writers of comedy and other such poets» (*C.C.N.* 13.4), he has but a single example of a comic line (from Terence) quoted more or less *urbane*: in a passage on Elagabalus' lack of *pudor* he writes:

on one occasion he invited the nobles of the court to a vintage-festival and (...) began to ask the most dignified of them one by one whether they were responsive to Venus, and when the old men would blush he would cry out, *Erubuit, salva res est* (*Adelphoe* 643), regarding their silence and blushes as a confession (*silentium ac ruborem pro consensu ducens*)¹² (*El.* 11.2).

Most of his quotations of poetry are from Virgil and in making his characters apply entire lines from the *Aeneid* to contemporary people or events he never has any jocular intention¹³, except in his invention on the first *contio* addressed by Marius, formerly a worker in iron, where he has the *tyrannus* in question referring in a parodical way to

¹⁰ *Et qui ab uno non potest occidi, a multis occiditur; | elephans grandis est et occiditur, | leo fortis est et occiditur; | tigris fortis est et occiditur; | cave multos si singulos non times.*

¹¹ *Saepe enim versus facete interponitur* (*D.O.* II 257); *versus commode positi, seu toti ut sunt (...) seu verbis ex parte mutatis* (*I.O.* VI 3.96-97).

¹² In actual fact the elders blushed and kept silent, *vel quia aetas vel quia dignitas talia refutabat* (*El.* 11.4) and therefore Elagabalus, by quoting Terence, behaved as if he regarded their silence and blushes as a confession.

¹³ Cf. *Ael.* 4.1-3, *O.M.* 12.9, *Diad.* 8.7, *Max.* 27.4, *Gord.* 20.5, *T.T.* 24.3 (same quotation in Eutropius, IX 13.1), *Tac.* 5.1, *C.C.N.* 13.3.

Jupiter's description of the Romans as *rerum dominos gentemque togatam* (*Aeneid* I 282):

«In short, I will strive to the utmost that all Alamannia and Germany and the nations round about shall deem the Roman people a steel-clad folk (*Romanum populum ferratam putent gentem*)» (*T.T.* 8.11).

4. Ambiguity¹⁴

In *Diad.* 7.3 (verses «written by an unknown Greek» and «directed against Commodus Antoninus», posing as Hercules), v. 6: *non erit iste deus, nec tamen ullus homo*, the second negation alludes, in our opinion, both to Commodus' cruelty and to his relationship with Saoterus, who was his *subactor* (cf. *Comm.* 3.6), and the ambiguity of *homo*¹⁵ provides this rather feeble epigram at the very end with a sting¹⁶.

In a *dictum* attributed to Pertinax' son (*Cc.* 10.6) the meaning of the cognomen *ex virtute Gothicus maximus*, assumed by some emperors¹⁷, is rendered ambiguous:

it is not out of place to include a certain gibe (*diasyrcticum*) that was uttered at his [Caracalla's] expense. For when he assumed the surnames Germanicus, Parthicus, Arabicus and Alamannicus¹⁸ (...), Helvius Pertinax, the son of Pertinax, said to him in jest, so it is related, «Add to the others, please, that of *Geticus maximus* also»; for he had slain his brother Geta, and Getae is the name for the Goths, whom he conquered, while on his way to the East, in a series of skirmishes (*Cc.* 10.5-6).

Geticus maximus is not the only case in which the author of the *HA.* felt obliged to indicate *plenis verbis* the double meaning of a term used in a document or in an utterance he has been quoting: the same applies to the *ambiguum* concluding the epitaph (equally invented) of Gordian III:

¹⁴ *Ingeniosi videtur vim verbi in aliud atque ceteri accipiant posse ducere* (*D.O.* II 254); *verba duos sensus significantia* (*I.O.* VI 3.48).

¹⁵ In our opinion a double entendre, meaning both ἄνθρωπος, as opposed to *deus*, and ἀνὴρ (same sense in Paulus, *Dig.* 48.19.38.5; *si eo (poculo) mulier aut homo perierit*). *Diad.* 7.3 is quoted by C.R. WHITAKER, *Herodian*, LBL 1969, p. 114 note 1, as belonging to «numerous stories about Commodus' homosexuality».

¹⁶ A sting resembling the clausula of Vespasian's complaint about the irreverence of a certain Licinius Mucianus: *ego tamen vir sum* (Mucianus' *impudicitia* was widely known) (*Vesp.* 13).

¹⁷ Aurelian and Probus, more than half a century after the end of Caracalla's reign.

¹⁸ Caracalla's real *cognomina ex virtute* were: Germanicus maximus, Britannicus maximus, Parthicus maximus; cf. P. KNEISSL, *Die Siegestitulatur der römischen Kaiser*, Göttingen 1969, p. 242.

«to the deified Gordian, conqueror of the Persians, conqueror of the Goths, conqueror of the Sarmatians, queller of mutinies at Rome, but no conqueror of Philippi (*sed non victori Philipporum*)»: this was added ostensibly because he had been beaten by the Alani in a disorderly battle on the plains of Philippi and forced to retreat; but at the same time it seemed to mean that he had been slain by the two Philips (*Gord.* 34.4).

Both puns are far-fetched, for they required on the part of the author the invention of *tumultuaria proelia* against the Goths and the Alani.

The story on Helvius Pertinax' jest is summarised in *Geta* 6.6 and concluded as follows:

this remark sank deep into the heart of Bassianus, as was afterwards proved by his murder of Pertinax, and not of Pertinax alone, but, as we have said before, of many others as well, far and wide and with utter injustice (*Geta* 6.7).

That epilogue to the story of an invented gibe refers to historical facts. According to Dio LXXVII 22.1 (Xiph.) and Herodian IV 9.3, the city of Alexandria paid with the carnage of a large part of its population for its lampoons against Caracalla's destruction of his brother Geta and (alleged) incestuous relationship with his mother Iulia Domna, and according to Dio LXXVII 12.5 (Xiph.) the mere reference to Geta was, after his assassination, a capital offense¹⁹.

In *M.A.* 29.2 a *iocus mimicus* is recorded concerning a certain Tertullus, who is said to have been a lover of Annia Faustina, the wife of Marcus Antoninus:

[on the stage] the Fool asked the Slave the name of his wife's lover, and the slave answered «Tullus» three times; and when the Fool kept on asking, the slave replied *iam tibi dixi ter, Tullus*²⁰ *dicitur*.

As the quality of this *ambiguum per distinctionem*²¹ is far better than that of the *ambigua* manifestly invented by the author of the *H.A.*, one feels inclined to credit this joke rather to a mimic author than to the *H.A.* In his life of Caligula Suetonius has a short note about an *Atellanae*

¹⁹ εἴ γέ τις ἔγραψε τὸ ὄνομα τὸ τοῦ Γέτα μόνον ἢ εἶπε μόνον, εὐθὺς ἀπώλετο ὄθεν οὐδ' ἐν ταῖς κωμωδίαις οἱ ποιηταὶ ἔτι αὐτῷ ἐχρῶντο. In Greek New Comedy and in Plautus and Terentius' plays, Geta (like Syrus, another ethnic name) is the name of several slaves.

²⁰ Cf. *I.O.* VI 3.55: *fiunt et ... divisim coniunctisque verbis similiter saepius frigida, aliquando tamen recipienda*.

²¹ Cf. H. LAUSBERG, *Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik*, Munich 1960, § 659.

poeta sent to the stake «because of a humorous line of double meaning» (*ob ambigui ioci versiculum*) (*Cal.* 27.4); the nature of that *versiculus* may have been similar to that of the line on Annia Faustina's lover quoted in full by the *H.A.*, without any details on the emperor's response.

S.A. 28.7 also deserves special attention, as it may contain an authentic and quite witty ambiguity, misunderstood by the author of the *H.A.*:

[Severus Alexander] felt shame at being called a Syrian, especially because, on the occasion of a certain festival, the people of Antioch and of Egypt and Alexandria had annoyed him with jibes, *et Syrum archisynagogum eum vocantes et archiereum*.

As ἀρχιερεύς (*pontifex*) was one of Severus Alexander's official titles²², the term in question cannot have been used as a term of abuse, and therefore it looks as if the *H.A.* rendered inexactly the statement by some Greek historian that Severus Alexander's oriental subjects called him ἀρχισυναγωγός *instead of* ἀρχιερεύς. Archisynagogus would then be an *ambiguum*, alluding simultaneously to the emperor's religious functions²³ and to his συναγωγῇ²⁴ χρημάτων, which is referred to in S.A. 44.1²⁵ and was the object of some of the charges brought against him, cf. S.A. 64.3: «The following charges were brought against Alexander (...) that he was too fond of gold (*quod aurum amabat*) (...) that he invented many new taxes (*quod vectigalia multa inveniebat*)».

Bilingual homonymy²⁶, such as, in Suetonius' biographies, *morari* in *Nero* 33.1, *adamato* in *Vesp.* 22 and *arci* in *Dom.* 13.2, were neither recorded nor invented by the author of the *H.A.* If the sayings which he attributes to the emperors came from collections of imperial apophthegmata instead of being in most cases the product of his own fantasy, the situation would probably be different.

²² Cf. *P. Fay.* 20 and *P. Oxy.* 2104.1, quoted by P. BURETH, *Les titulatures impériales dans les papyrus, les ostraca et les inscriptions d'Égypte*, Brussels 1964, p. 110.

²³ The term is rendered by «synagogue-chief» (D. Magie), «Synagogenvorsteher» (E. Hohl). On the historicity of Alexander Severus being called ἀρχισυναγωγός, cf. Elke Merten's n. 167 on Hohl's translation of Alexander Severus' life in *Historia Augusta, Römische Herrschergestalten*, I, 1976, p. 507.

²⁴ Cf. συναγειν in Aristotle, *Pol.* 1314b 15 (τὰς εἰσφορὰς) and PCZ III 39315.1-2 (ὅπως συναγάγω τῷ φορολόγῳ (δρ.) Ἄφ); συναγωγὴ χρημάτων in Polyb. XXVII 13.1.

²⁵ *Ad aurum colligendum attentus, ad servandum cautus, ad inveniendum sollicitus, sed sine cuiusquam excidio*.

²⁶ Cf. on this subject p. 210 of my paper on *Verbal Humour in Plutarch and Suetonius' Lives*, *AncSoc* 23 (1992), p. 189-232.

5. *Metaphor*²⁷

There are in the *H.A.* a couple of metaphors designating in a jocular way *an object*:

[Elagabalus,] when inviting men of the highest rank to a luncheon, covered a semi-circular coach (*sigma*) with saffron-flowers²⁸ and then said that he was providing them with the kind of hay²⁹ that their rank demanded (*El.* 28.5);

[Gallienus] fastened jewels to his boot-laces and then called his boots *reticulos*, i.e. network caps³⁰ (*Gall.* 16.4).

According to D.Magie³¹ and Elke Merten³² the sense of *pro eorum dignitate se dicens faenum exhibere* is «likening them to oxen», «daß er sie für so dumm wie Ochsen erklärt»; there is, however, a great difference between relegating somebody to a diet of hay (as in *D.O.* II 233: «*fenum alios*» *aiebat* «*esse oportere*») and Elagabalus' jocular understatement of the honours which he bestowed upon his important guests by covering their coach with saffron-flowers.

Paelex reginae, *stabulum Nicomedis*, and *Bithynicus fornix*, terms of abuse used by Cornelius Dolabella and C. Curio the Elder when talking of Julius Caesar (Suetonius, *Iul.* 49.1), consist of a metaphor (*paelex*, *stabulum*, *fornix*) and a term (either a proper name or a common noun in the genitive, or an adjective derived from it) used in its literal sense. In the *H.A.* the compound in question occurs quite often: Pertinax, according to *Pert.* 9.5, was called *ex versu Luciliano* an *agrarius mergus*; Avidius Cassius, according to a fictitious letter of L. Verus to Marcus Antoninus, called the latter a *philosophia anicula* and the former a *luxoriosus morio* (*A.C.* 1.8); the Roman senators were called by Elagabalus *mancipia togata* (*El.* 20.1); Gallus Antipater, a historian invented by the author of the *H.A.*, is referred to by the latter as an *ancilla honorum* (*Claud.* II 5.4).

²⁷ *In verbis etiam illa sunt quae (...) ex unius verbi translatione ducuntur (D.O. II 261); metaphora quoque Cicero lusit (I.O. VI 3.68).*

²⁸ *Ut de croco sigma straverit; crocum* is in this case the fragrant saffron-flower, not its essential oil as in *Hadr.* 19.5 and *El.* 19.8.

²⁹ *Faenum* as bedding, as in Ovid, *Heroides* 5.15: *saepe super stramen fenoque iacentibus alto*.

³⁰ Such as those worn by women to keep together their hair.

³¹ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, II, p. 162 n. 1.

³² In *Historia Augusta, Römische Herrschergestalten*, I, p. 483, n. 129 on the Life of Antoninus Heliogabalus.

Because of the contrast between the basic element, *sensu proprio*, and the additional element, the compound *mancipia togata*, said of the Roman senate, is quite clever. *Anicula philosopha*, alleged to have been said of Marcus Antoninus, is also rather witty, because *anicula* was a suitable metaphor for twaddler and also because philosophers (additional element), as a rule, were old men, not old women (basic element).

With the exception of *agrarius mergus* (land-cormorant³³), whose Lucilian origin is beyond doubt, all these compounds were in all probability fabricated by the author of the *H.A.* The question remains, however, whether the application of *agrarius mergus* to Pertinax is historical, for the author of the *H.A.*, who was acquainted with pre-classical Latin literature³⁴, may well have attributed to Pertinax' critics more cultural baggage than they actually had, and, except for the reference to the origin of the periphrasis, the wording of *denique ex versu Luciliano agrarius mergus appellatus est* is formally identical with *appellatus est sui temporis Priamus* (*Gord.* 19.4), which is unhistoric. On the other hand, the reason why Pertinax was called a land-cormorant³⁵ is perfectly pertinent and much more plausible than one would expect from the author's capricious fantasy³⁶. The Lucilian context of *agrarius mergus* is unknown; whatever it may have been, the compound in question can hardly have been more witty in Lucilius' satires than it sounded when applied to Pertinax, for the cormorant, on account of its digestive system one of the most ravenous animals³⁷, was a sea-bird, not a field-bird, which meant that *agrarius* was unexpected³⁸ and yet, owing to Pertinax' extension of his landed property, fully comprehensible.

Compound metaphors expressed in Greek, such as *πηλὸν αἷματι πεφυραμένον* («mud mixed with blood»), applied to Tiberius by his

³³ The name of the *mergus* is also used metaphorically in English («cormorant»), but not in French («cormoran»), to denote a gluttonous or avaricious person.

³⁴ Cf. *C.C.N.* 15.5.

³⁵ Cf. *Pert.* 9.4: *avaritiae suspicione privatus non caruit, cum apud Vada Sabatia oppressis faenore possessoribus latius suos tenderet fines.*

³⁶ Illustrated e.g. by the reason he gives for *appellatus est sui temporis Priamus* in *Gord.* 19.3.

³⁷ Cf. Pliny, *Nat.Hist.* XI 202: *insatiabilia animalium quibus a ventre protinus recto intestino transeunt cibi, ut lupis cervariis et inter aves mergis.*

³⁸ And therefore *salsum*. To this type of jokes was applicable what is said in *D.O.* II 260 of another genus in *verbo positum*: *haec aut frigida sunt aut tum salsa, quom aliud est expectatum. Natura enim nos, ut ante dixi, noster delectat error; ex quo, quom quasi decepti sumus expectatione, ridemus.*

teacher of rhetoric Theodorus of Gadara (Suetonius, *Tib.* 57.1), do not occur in the *H.A.*

6. *Antonomasia*

Simple *antonomasiae* replace a personal name with an ethnical or a geographical name such as Graeculus and Tiberinus, with a common noun such as Onos, with an adjective derived from a participle (Tractaticius) or from a substantive (Porphyrius):

[Hadrian's] natural tastes inclined so much to Greek studies that some called him «Greekling» (*Hadr.* 1.5)³⁹;

[Commodus] kept among his minions certain men named after the private parts of both sexes (*Comm.* 10.8)⁴⁰ [and] had in his company a man, with a male member larger than that of most animals, whom he called *Onos* (Donkey) (*Comm.* 10.9);

as [Clodius Albinus] had been wrapped after his birth in a purple *fascia* of his mother, his nurse jestingly (*ioco*) gave him the name Porphyrius, which was one of the omens betokening his future rule (*Cl.A.* 5.9-10);

[Elagabalus] took care to have the whole city and the wharves searched for *onobeli*⁴¹, as those were called who seemed to be *viriliores* (*El.* 8.7)⁴²; after his death he was called among other terms of abuse «the Tiberine» and «the Dragged» (Tractaticius) (*El.* 17.5)⁴³.

³⁹ The *H.A.* did not use the ethnical nickname of Elagabalus available in Dio LXXIX 11.2 (Xiph.): τὴν ἐσθῆτα τὴν βαρβαρικὴν, ἣ οἱ τῶν Σύρων ἱερεῖς χρῶνται, καὶ δημοσίᾳ πολλάκις ἐωρᾶτο ἐνδεδυμένος· ἅφ' οὐπερ οὐχ ἥκιστα καὶ τὴν τοῦ Ἀσσυρίου («the Assyrian») ἐπωνυμίαν ἔλαβεν.

⁴⁰ Commodus' invention of similar names is historical, cf. Dio LXXIII 6.2 (Xiph.) on action taken by Commodus' successor Pertinax: κοπρίας τινὰς καὶ γελωτοποιοὺς αἰσχίστα μὲν τὰ εἶδη αἰσχίῳ δὲ τὰ ὀνόματα καὶ τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα ἔχοντας καὶ (...) ὑπὸ τοῦ Κομμοδίου ὑπερπλουτοῦντας εὐρῶν, ἐδημοσίευσεν τὰς τε προσηγορίας αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ὧν ἐκέκτειντο, καὶ ἦν ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς γέλωσι, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς ὀργῇ τε καὶ λύπῃ.

⁴¹ Compound of ὄνος and ὀβελός. Translated by E. Hohl as «Eselsschwänze».

⁴² The common nouns and adjectives serving as nicknames of Commodus and available in Dio LXXIII 2.2 (Xiph.) have not been used by the author of the *H.A.*: Κόμμοδον μὲν γὰρ οὐδεὶς οὐδ' αὐτοκράτορα αὐτὸν ὠνόμαζεν, ἀλιτήριον δὲ τινα καὶ τύραννον ἀποκαλοῦντες προσετίθεσαν ἐπισκώπτοντες τὸν μονομάχον, τὸν ἄρματῆλάν, τὸν ἀριστέρον, τὸν κηλήτην (= *diruptum*, probably in an obscene sense, as in Plautus, *Cas.* 811).

⁴³ Referring to *El.* 17.3: *tractum est cadaver eius etiam per Circi spatia priusquam in Tiberim praecipitaretur*. The *appellatio* «Tiberinus» appears to be historical, cf. Dio LXXIX 1.1: ὁ δὲ δὴ Ἀουῖτος εἶτε Ψευδαντωνίνος καὶ Ἀσσύριος ἢ καὶ Σαρδανάπαλλος Τιβερίνους τε (καὶ γὰρ ταύτην τὴν προσηγορίαν, ἐπειδὴ τὸ σῶμα σφαγέντος αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν Τίβεριν ἐνεβλήθη, ἔλαβεν). On Tiberinus and Tractaticius, cf. G. ALFÖLDY, *Zwei Schimpfnamen des Kaisers Elagabal. Tiberinus und Tractaticius*, in *BHAC* 1972-1974, Bonn 1976, p. 11-21.

Commodus dubbed certain men one-eyed or one-footed (*monopodios et luscinius*), after he himself had plucked out one of their eyes or cut off one of their feet (*Comm.* 10.6); [the names in question are related among the proofs of Commodus being destructive even in his *ioci*, although they are, contrary to *diruptus*, which was a nickname deserved by the emperor himself (cf. note 42), mere descriptions.]

The simple antonomasia may also consist in replacing a name by another *personal* name, derived from mythology or history⁴⁴ or borne by a well-known contemporary⁴⁵. It is quite surprising that both in the mythological series (Busiris, Cyclops, Gyges, Phalaris, Typhon) and in the historical series (Catilina, Claudius, Mamurius Veturius⁴⁶, Marius, Scipio) all antonomasiae appearing in the *H.A.* have been fabricated by its author, whereas a couple of genuine antonomasiae, recorded by Greek historians dealing with Marcus Aurelius Antoninus (Caracalla), have not been used by the *H.A.*

The latter applies to Tarautas, derived from the name of a «gladiator who was most insignificant (σμικρότατος) and most ugly in appearance and most reckless and bloodthirsty in spirit» (Dio LXXVIII 9.3), a nickname of the emperor in question⁴⁷ often used by Dio⁴⁸ instead of Antoninus. Another genuine antonomasia by means of a personal name, ignored by the *H.A.*, belongs to the field of mythology: according to Herodian IV 9.3 «many of the lampoons (of the Alexandrians) against Antoninus referred to the destruction of his brother and to his old mother, calling her Jocasta»⁴⁹.

The author of the *H.A.* appears to have invented the popular application of historical and mythological names to Roman rulers in order to display what he believed to be his own encyclopedic knowledge in the

⁴⁴ *Trahitur etiam aliquid ex historia, ut, cum Sex. Titius se Cassandram esse diceret, «multos» inquit Antonius «possum tuos Aiaces Oileos nominare»* (D.O. II 265).

⁴⁵ Cf. the notes on Spinther, Serapio and Saluitto on p. 196-197 of my paper on *Verbal Humour in Plutarch and Suetonius' Lives*, *AncSoc* 23 (1992), p. 189-232.

⁴⁶ Name of a legendary smith who, at king Numa's request, made duplicates of the *ancilia* and was therefore rewarded by the insertion of his name in the Carmen Saliare.

⁴⁷ His physical resemblance to Tarautas who was σμικρότατος is attested by Herodian's reference (IV 9.3) to the lampoons of the Alexandrians against Antoninus (Caracalla): ἐκεῖνον δὲ χλευαζόντων ὅτι δὴ μικρὸς ὢν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ Ἀχιλλέα γεννασιότατους καὶ μεγίστους ἦρωας ἐμμεῖτο.

⁴⁸ From LXXVII.9.3 on.

⁴⁹ On account of Iulia Domna's (alleged) incestuous relationship with her son Antoninus.

domain of mythology and history⁵⁰. Eutropius and Aurelius Victor, on the contrary, used very sparingly that kind of antonomasiae⁵¹.

Next to the historical, mythological and geographical names, the *H.A.* also has a series of anemological names used as antonomasia:

[Aelius] is said to have fastened wings on many of his messengers after the fashion of Cupids, and to have given them often the names of the winds, calling one Boreas, another Notus, others Aquilo or Circius, or some like name (*Ael.* 5.10).

A large number of the simple antonomasiae are mere terms of abuse: the *H.A.* has *histrio* for Opellius Macrinus (attributed to an invented anonymous poet in *O.M.* 11.4.1); *gabalus* (gallows-bird) and *mango* (huckster) for that same anonymous poet (attributed to Macrinus in *O.M.* 11.6⁵², which is his reply to *O.M.* 11.4), and *pestis* and *clades*, often expressing the author's personal view in referring to Elagabalus or Gallienus⁵³. In many of these cases the derisive or abusive antonomasiae were launched against personalities who in their public life were honoured with *cognomina ex virtute*.

Ulixes stolatus, Caligula's name for his great-grandmother Livia (Suetonius, *Cal.* 23.2), is the substitution of a common noun (in casu: *subdolus*) by a proper name, borne in history or mythology by a person (in casu: Ulixes) representing the quality expressed by the common noun, plus a non-typological element that draws the historical or mythological figure into the present, into foreign surroundings and/or into the opposite sex (in casu: *stolatus*). The wit of the trope in question depends on the contrast between the basic element, taken in its literal sense (e.g. Ulixes, as the Grecian hero), and the additional element (e.g. *stolatus*: in a stola, a Roman lady's dress)⁵⁴.

This kind of antonomasia is represented in the *H.A.* by *Ixiones amnici* attributed to Elagabalus in *El.* 24.5 and preceded by an explanatory note (*parasitos ad rotam aquariam ligabat*):

⁵⁰ Of which he says *ioculariter* in connection with a certain controversy between Greek and Roman historians: *quod ideo testatum posui, ne quis me hoc nescisse crederet, quod re vera magnum stuporem ac miraculum crearet* (*Max.* 33.4).

⁵¹ Aurelius Victor, *Caes.* 37.2, describes Probus as *ingenti belli scientia exercitan-disque varie militibus ac duranda iuventute prope Hannibalem alterum*.

⁵² *talem Graium (...) poetam qualis Latinus gabalus iste fuit*.

⁵³ Elagabalus: *pestis*, cf. *El.* 10.1, *S.A.* 1.1, 41.3 and *clades*, cf. *El.* 34.1, *S.A.* 2.2, 34.4; Gallienus: *pestis*, cf. *T.T.* 5.6, 26.1.

⁵⁴ Cf. Plutarch, *Marc.* 17.1, where M. Claudius Marcellus is said to have called Archimedes, in jesting with his own artificers and engineers, γεωμετρικὸν τοῦτον Βριάρεον.

he used to bind his parasites to a water-wheel and, by a turn of the wheel, plunge them into the water and then bring them back to the surface again, calling them meanwhile river-Ixions⁵⁵.

Ixiones amnici is far-fetched since it starts from a datum (Elagabalus' rude *irrisio* of his parasites) invented in function of the antonomasia in question, but it is not completely pointless, since the mythological Ixion, «parasite» of Zeus, tied by the latter to a *fire-wheel*, was exactly the opposite of *amnicus*.

The *H.A.* has other compound antonomasiae, in which the additional element is simply geographical (*Punicus*) or chronological (*sui temporis*). *Sulla Punicus* and *Marius Punicus* (*P.N.* 6.4) are, like *Ixiones amnici*, accompanied by an explanatory note: «it was then that he (Septimius Severus, of Punic descent) put countless senators to death» (*P.N.* 6.4). Gordian II was called *sui temporis Priamus* (*Gord.* 19.3-4) «on account of the three or four children which he had from each of his twenty-two concubines»; Clodius Albinus was called *sui temporis Catilina* because «he had a thorough knowledge of arms» (*Cl.A.* 13.2). The author of the *H.A.* does not state the reason why he calls a certain Fabius Sabinus, *consiliarius* of Severus Alexander, *Cato temporis sui* (*S.A.* 68.1). *Simia temporis sui*⁵⁶ (*Max.* 27.5) and *temporis sui mimographus* (*M.A.* 8.1) do not belong to the field of jocular appellation for in both cases *sui temporis* is an objective (instead of a possessive) genitive.

7. Paronomasia⁵⁷

The author of the *H.A.* appears to have been quite fond of jocular paronomasia, for he fabricated *Macellinus* (butcher) instead of Macrinus (*O.M.* 13.3), *Priapus* instead of Priamus (*Gord.* 19.4), *Lucanicus* (sausage-eater⁵⁸) instead of the surname Lucanus (*Cc.* 5.6) and *Carpis-*

⁵⁵ As *Ixionios amicos* (P, Peter¹, Hohl-Samberger-Seyfarth (Teubner 1971)) would be a compound antonomasia void of any contrast between its components, I prefer *Ixiones amnicos* (Hirschfeld, Peter²), which is quite satisfactory, cf. next paragraph.

⁵⁶ The *simia temporis sui* of *Max.* 27.5 was Julius Titianus; in actual fact he was nicknamed *simia oratorum*, cf. Ausonius, *Epist.* I 1. According to the *H.A.* the reason why Titianus was called a *simia* was *quod cuncta esset imitatus*.

⁵⁷ *Genus quod habet parvam verbi immutationem, quod in littera positum Graeci vocant παρονομασίαν* (*D.O.* II 256); *nominum fictio adiectis, detractis, mutatis litteris* (*I.O.* VI 3.53).

⁵⁸ Elke MERTEN, in n. 34 on the Life of Antoninus Caracalla (in *Historia Augusta, Römische Herrschergestalten*, I, Zurich-Munich 1976), renders Lucanicus by «Bratwurstesser».

culus (boot) instead of the surname *Carpicus* (*Aur.* 30.4) and he attributed the witticisms in question to *Macrinus*' slaves, to the subjects of *Gordian II*, to *Caracalla* and to *Aurelian*.

The *paronomasiae* in question are accompanied by an explanatory note:

[*Macrinus*' slaves used to call him *Macellinus*,] because his palace was so stained with the blood of his household-servants that it looked like a shambles (*macellum*) (*O.M.* 13.3);

[*Gordian II*] was nicknamed the *Priam* of his age, but often the crowd called him *Priapus*, *quod esset natura propensior* (*Gord.* 19.4);

[*Caracalla*] after defeating the Germans called himself *Germanicus*, asserting moreover, either in jest or in earnest, for he was foolish and mad, that had he conquered the *Lucanians* he should have been given the name *Lucanicus* (Sausage-eater) (*Cc.* 5.6)⁵⁹;

[after receiving the surname *Carpicus*⁶⁰, *Aurelian* jestingly proposed to the senators to call him *Carpisculus* also:] for it is well known that *carpisculum* is a kind of boot⁶¹. This surname (*Carpicus*) appeared to him as ignoble, since he was already called both *Gothicus* and *Sarmaticus* and *Armeniacus* and *Parthicus* and *Adiabenicus*⁶² (*Aur.* 30.4-5).

Priapus and *Macellinus* are far-fetched, the former because it is a witticism on *Priamus* (cf. p. 187) and therefore a joke in the second degree, the latter because it is preceded by information fabricated in function of the *paronomasia*:

in flogging his palace-attendants he was so unjust, so unreasonable, and so cruel, that his slaves used to call him *Macellinus* instead of *Macrinus* (*O.M.* 13.3).

*Lucanicus*⁶³ is also *arcessitus* because it starts from an utterly absurd supposition (*si Lucanos vicisset*), the Roman victories over the *Lucani* dating from the *Pyrrhic* war, almost 500 years earlier, and the *Lucani*, as a nation, having disappeared since *Sulla*'s day. Apart from being *arcessitae*, the *paronomasiae* on *Lucanus* and *Carpicus* also suffer from being attributed to *Caracalla* and *Aurelian* themselves, not to the people in the street.

⁵⁹ I have adapted *Magie*'s version of *Cc.* 5.6 to *Hohl*'s translation into German.

⁶⁰ This is no invention in function of the *paronomasia* in question: *Aurelian* really received that cognomen.

⁶¹ Although our author explained to his readers what *carpisculum* meant, as if it were an archaic word, the *paronomasia* in question was undoubtedly, no less than *Macellinus* and *Priapus*, his own invention.

⁶² *Aurelian*'s real victory cognomina were: *Gothicus maximus*, *Carpicus maximus*, *Germanicus maximus*, *Persicus maximus*, *Arabicus maximus*, *Dacicus maximus*, *Palmyrenicus maximus*, *Parthicus maximus*, *Sarmaticus maximus*, cf. *P. Kneissl, o.l.*, p. 243.

⁶³ Cf. on this joke *E. HOHL, Ein politischer Witz auf Caracalla, SDAW* 1950, 1.

Septem convivium, novem vero convicium in *Ver.* 5.1 is the author's own comment on a banquet *in quo primum duodecim accubuisse dicitur* (fictitious and inspired by Octavian's *cena δωδεκάθεος*, cf. Suetonius, *Aug.* 70.1) organised by Verus; in his translation of the *H.A.* Ernst Hohl has rendered the *jeu de mots* by «Sieben eine Fête, neun eine Fehde». According to M. Terentius Varro, quoted by Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae* XIII 11.1-2, «the number of guests should begin with three and stop at nine»; nine was indeed the normal number of guests reclining (on three couches) in a triclinium, and therefore there can hardly be any doubt that the so-called *notissimum dictum de numero convivarum* was of the author's own crû as far as its numbers are concerned. The paronomasia *convivium-convicium*, on the other hand, was no invention of the *H.A.*, for it occurs also, no doubt independently, in Ausonius, *Ephem.* 5: *quinque advocavi; sex enim convivium | cum rege iustum; si super, convicium est*; in his opinion a banquet in full number (*iustum*) consisted of five guests and their host (*rex*).

There are in the *H.A.* many other paronomasiae of common nouns, verbs and adjectives:

*si quis cinctus inveniretur apud Daphnen, discinctus rediret*⁶⁴ (*A.C.* 6.1), warning addressed by Avidius Cassius to the Syrian legions under his command;

«*si libet, licet*» (*Cc.* 10.2), reply of Julia Domna to Caracalla's improper proposal «*vellem, si liceret*»⁶⁵;

sit divus (Geta) dum non sit vivus, ascribed to Caracalla (*Geta* 2.8); *non secundam mensam Alexandrum habere sed fecundam*⁶⁶ (*S.A.* 37.10), an anonymous witticism on Severus Alexander's abundant consumption of fruit, served to him as dessert;

si viri estis, si vires habetis, eamus contra senatum et Afros, from a speech made by Maximinus to his soldiers (*Max.* 18.3);

consul, consule, attributed to a *consularis primae sententiae* (*T.T.* 21.4);

non ut vivat natus est (Bonosus), sed ut bibat, attributed to Aurelian (*Q.T.* 14.3).

Some of these paronomasiae are quite forced since they start from data invented in order to render the joke in question possible: Caracalla

⁶⁴ *Cinctus* meaning «in uniform» (the *cingulum* being the mark of military service), *discinctus* «dismissed, cashiered».

⁶⁵ In Aurelius Victor's version (quite inferior) of the anecdote: «*Vellem, si liceret, uti*» – «*Libet? Plane licet*» (*Caes.* 21.3).

⁶⁶ Instead of *secundum*, corr. Petschenig; «not a second course but a fruitful course» would, as far as meaning is concerned, be preferable to Hohl's attempt to maintain the paronomasia: «keinen zweiten sondern einen breiten Tisch».

«was told that his fratricide could be mitigated *si divum fratrem appellaret*» (*Geta* 2.8), Bonosus «drank as no man had ever drunk» (*Q.T.* 14.2).

Among the paronomasiae of common nouns, the *H.A.* contains an elaborate example, dealing with the physical beauty of Severus Alexander and the reason thereof, which is in itself a topic rather unexpected in the *vita* of a Roman emperor. The answer to that question might be summarised in a single short sentence: the emperor owes his *lepos* (beauty) to his daily meal of *lepus* (hare). As the treatment of the problem extends over *S.A.* 38.1-6, starting from an epigram by Martial⁶⁷, continuing with an invented *iocus poeticus* on Severus Alexander:

*Pulchrum quod vides esse nostrum regem,
pulchrum quod Syra detulit propago,
venatus facit et lepus comesus,
de quo continuum capit leporem.*

and concluding with a harsh reply by the emperor, this long digression on the latter's fondness of hare (invented in *S.A.* 37.7⁶⁸ no doubt in function of the paronomasia) smells of the schoolmaster's lamp-oil, more than any other joke or pleasantry fabricated by our author.

8. Onomastic neologism

The names of Maximinus' parents, Micca and Ababa, undoubtedly unhistoric⁶⁹, must have been fabricated⁷⁰ by the author of the *H.A.* in order to make fun of that emperor's barbarian origin:

[Maximinus] was born in a village in Thrace, bordering on the Barbarians, indeed of a barbarian father and mother, the one, men say, being of the Goths, the other of the Alani; at any rate, they say his father's name was Micca, his mother's Ababa (*Max.* 1.5-6).

⁶⁷ An epigram (V 29) which Martial sent to a certain Gallia after receiving from her regularly presents of hare; Martial spoke of *lepus* and *formosus esse* and made, of course, no pedantic pun on *lepus-lepos*.

⁶⁸ *Leporem cottidie habuit*.

⁶⁹ Although similar information, explicitly derived from Symmachus' *Historia Romana*, is given by Jordanes, *De rebus Geticis* XV 83; according to E. HOHL, *Die 'gothische' Abkunft des Kaisers Maximinus Thrax*, *Klio* 34 (1942), p. 264-289, Jordanes' informant read it in the *H.A.*

⁷⁰ «Willkürlich herausgesponnen» (E. HOHL, *ibid.*, p. 264) from a detail of Herodian's account on Maximinus' origin: τὸ μὲν γένος τῶν ἐνδοτάτῳ Θρακῶν καὶ μιζοβαρβάρων (mixo > Micca, barbaros > Ababa).

II. HUMOUR IN REBUS

1. *Feigned non-understanding*⁷¹

An example of feigned non-understanding, in which *quod intellegas* is a fact or an action instead of an utterance or a question, is quoted by the H.A. in *Hadr.* 20.8 in connection with Hadrian's *dicacitas*⁷²: «when he had refused a request to a certain gray-haired man, and the man in question repeated his request, but this time *with dyed hair*, Hadrian replied⁷³: «*iam hoc patri tuo negavi*»». As most of the jokes narrated in the *Vita Hadriani*, the jest in question is in all probability historical.

It resembles quite closely a couple of jokes noted by Suetonius in Vespasian's biography in order to illustrate the emperor's *dicacitas in deformibus lucris*:

after the emperor had been approached by one of his *cari ministri* in order to obtain a stewardship for a pretended brother, he delayed his reply, summoned the candidate to his presence, exacted from him *the sum which he had agreed to pay to his advocate*, and appointed him immediately; soon afterwards, when his attendant took up the matter again, he told him: «find yourself another brother⁷⁴; the one that you thought was yours is mine» (*Vesp.* 23.2);

on one of his journeys, suspecting that his muleteer had got down to shoe the mules merely in order *to offer a litigant room and time* to approach the emperor, he asked him *quanti calciasset*⁷⁵ and bargained part of the money gained (*ibid.*).

2. *Allusion (significatio)*⁷⁶

The only *iocus suspiciosus*⁷⁷ of the H.A. which appears to be historical (and quite witty) is Antoninus Pius' jocular comment (*risit eum*) on the

⁷¹ *Non videri intellegere quod intellegas* (*D.O.* II 275).

⁷² *Ioca eius plurima extant; nam fuit etiam dicaculus.*

⁷³ As if he had not seen through the solicitant's little game.

⁷⁴ Which is *non videri intellegere*.

⁷⁵ *Quanti calciasset* «how much he had paid for shoeing the mules» meant at the same time «how much he had been paid for shoeing them». Comparable with *cui domi nihil sit nec obsignatum nec occlusum* («there is nothing closed or sealed to him») in *D.O.* II 248, said by C. Claudius Nero of a dishonest slave and ironically introduced in *I.O.* VI 3.50 by *nulli plus apud se fidei haberi* («no one is more trusted in my house»).

⁷⁶ *Arguta etiam significatio est, cum parva re et saepe verbo res obscura et latens inlustratur* (*D.O.* II 268).

⁷⁷ Jestings full of innuendoes. The term is borrowed from Suetonius, *Dom.* 10.2, cf. my paper on *Non-Verbal Jestings in Plutarch's Lives*, in *Plutarchea Lovaniensia. A Miscellany of Essays on Plutarch* (*Studia Hellenistica*, 32), Leuven 1996, n. 24.

philosopher Apollonius' refusal to come to the *domus Tiberiana* in order to teach Marcus Aurelius: «It was easier, then, for Apollonios to come to Rome from Chalcis⁷⁸ than from his house to my palace» (*A.P.* 10.4); as appears from the sequel to this saying⁷⁹, the emperor alluded to the financial considerations underlying Apollonios' decision to emigrate to Rome.

3. *Interpretatio nominis*⁸⁰

«When you make fun of the reason for a man being called as he is», Vopiscus' definition of *interpretatio nominis* in Cicero's *De Oratore*, can in the *H.A.* only be applied to the interpretation of Regalianus' name by his fellow-soldiers and by a schoolmaster (!) who was present among them⁸¹; that joke is the object of an invented and insipid anecdote, extending over *T.T.* 10.3-7:

when some soldiers were dining with him and a certain acting-tribune arose and said, «Whence shall we suppose that Regalianus gets his name?», another replied at once, «I suppose from regal power». Then a schoolmaster who was present among them began, as it seemed, to decline grammatically, saying, «Rex, regis, regi, Regalianus», where-upon among the soldiers (...) one cried out «So, then, can he be regal?» etc. etc.

credimus quod a regno and its sequel are qualified by the *H.A.* as a *capitalis iocus* (*T.T.* 10.3) and a *iocularis astutia* (*T.T.* 10.7), which made some soldiers think of Regalianus as a *rex* and which, owing to the fact that soldiers were a *hominum genus pronum ad ea quae cogitent*, led the front-line troops on the following morning to salute him as emperor.

In the *H.A.*, *interpretatio nominis* often consists in attributing to a person (an emperor or a *tyrannus*) the quality expressed by the name he happens to bear, or exactly its contrary. Various characters and supernumeraries of the *H.A.* are said to have practised that sort of *interpretatio*:

⁷⁸ Apollonius actually came from Chalcedon, cf. *M.A.* 02.7.

⁷⁹ *Cuius avaritiam etiam in mercedibus notavit.*

⁸⁰ *Etiam interpretatio nominis habet acumen, quom ad ridiculum convertas quam ob rem ita quis vocetur* (*D.O.* II 257); *quae a nominibus trahuntur* (*I.O.* VI 3.55).

⁸¹ Personifying unintentionally the extreme pedantry of the joke in question. The scholasticus *coepit quasi grammaticaliter declinare et dicere*, «Rex, regis, regi, Regalianus» (*T.T.* 10.5).

Hadrian in *M.A.* 1.10 and *M.A.* 4.1 (*Annius Verus verissimus*);
 the subjects of Severus in *Sev.* 14.13 (*ecce imperator vere nominis sui, vere pertinax*⁸², *vere severus*⁸³);
 Gallus Antipater, an invented historian in *Claud.* II 5.4 (*Aureolus, imperator nominis sui*);
 a fictitious *senator consularis* in *Tac.* 6.4 (*Commodos, seu potius semper incommodos*⁸⁴);
 Valerian in *Prob.* 4.1 (*Probus, sui nominis vir*) and *Prob.* 4.4 (*Probus imperator et vere probus*);
 the soldiers who saluted Probus as emperor in *Prob.* 10.4 (*cum tribuni eos adloquerentur, dicentes requirendum esse principem aliquem fortem, sanctum, verecundum, clementem, probum... quasi divino nutu undique ab omnibus adclamatum est, «Probe Auguste, di te servent!»*);
 the soldiers who built Probus' tomb in *Prob.* 21.4 (*Probus imperator et vere probus*);
 unspecified praisers in *Tac.* 16.6 (*de quo (scil. Probo) dictum est dignum esse ut Probus diceretur, etiamsi Probus nomine non fuisset*);
 a fictitious chancery clerk in *C.C.N.* 8.5 (*Carus princeps noster et vere carus*).

The author of the *H.A.* does the same on his own authority when describing the usurper Firmus as *mente firmissimus, nervis robustissimus* (*Q.T.* 4.2).

In that long and tedious series of *interpretationes* void of any *acumen*⁸⁵, only a single item appears to be historical: *Verus verissimus*, confirmed by Dio Cassius⁸⁶; the rest is fabricated and occurs as a rule⁸⁷ in forged documents. In all these cases the proper name of an emperor or a tyrannus is followed either by that same name, used as an adjective expressing a quality, or by *vir nominis sui*.

In a second type of *interpretatio nominis*, the behaviour of an emperor or his words are qualified in terms corresponding with his *nomen* or

⁸² Septimius Severus' full name was: Lucius Septimius Severus Pertinax Augustus.

⁸³ Quoted by the *H.A.* as an example of *figurata* (Magie: «things with double meaning»; Hohl: «verblünte Anspielungen»); it is not clear why this *interpretatio* should have led to condemnations (*damnabantur autem plerique, cur iocati essent, alii cur tacuissent, alii, cur pleraque figurata dixissent*).

⁸⁴ Cf. Orosius, *Hist. adv. pag.* VII 16.4: *Commodus cunctis incommodus*.

⁸⁵ And rightly qualified by A. RÖSGER (note 1 to Hohl's translation of the Life of Pertinax) as «ein Charakteristikum der unseriösen Arbeitsweise des Verfassers der *H.A.*»

⁸⁶ LXIX 21.2 (Xiph.): (Ἀδριανὸς) δὲ προετίμησε τὸν Οὐῆρον (...) ὅτι φύσιν ψυχῆς ἐρρωμενεστάτην ἤδη ἐπέφαινε: ἅψ' οὐ καὶ Οὐηρίσσιμον αὐτόν, πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Ῥωμαικοῦ ῥήματος ἔννοιαν κομψευόμενος, ἀπεκάλει.

⁸⁷ There are two exceptions: *Comm.* 17.11, in which the interpretation (*Severus, imperator gravis et vir nominis sui*) is the author's personal comment, and *Sev.* 14.13, in which it belongs to an alleged saying.

cognomen. This type occurs in the author's introduction to some verses quoted in *Diad.* 7.2:

I wish to include some verses directed at Commodus who had taken the name of Hercules, in order that I may show to all that the name of the Antonines⁸⁸ was so illustrious that it was not deemed suitable (*commode*) to add to it even the name of a god,

and also in two forged documents, a letter of Lucius Verus to Marcus Antoninus, and the latter's reply:

Avidius Cassius avidus est imperii (A.C. 1.7); *Verus mihi de Avidio verum scripserat* (A.C. 9.7).

4. *Comparison (similitudo)*⁸⁹

In *I.O.* VI 3.59 a distinction is made between «open» comparison (*similitudo adhibita palam*) and comparison *inserta parabolae*. According to the latest commentary on Cicero's *De oratore*⁹⁰, Quintilian's distinction is similar to that made by Vopiscus in *D.O.* II 265: *est etiam (= trahitur etiam aliquid) ex similitudine, quae aut collationem habet aut tamquam imaginem*. This is right insofar as Quintilian's *inserere parabolae* corresponds with Vopiscus' *collatio*⁹¹, but Quintilian's *similitudo adhibita palam* is in our opinion different from Vopiscus' *imago*, for the examples of the latter in *D.O.* II 266 are far from «direct» comparisons, the first having little to do with verbal humour⁹² (*demonstravi digito pictum Gallum in Mariano scuto Cimbrico sub Novis, distortum, eiecta lingua, buccis fluentibus*), the second (a reply to somebody *mentum in dicendo intorquenti*) running in direct speech: «*tum dic, si quid vis, si nucem freris*». Quintilian's «open comparison» (*similitudo adhibita palam*)

⁸⁸ Cf. *The nomen Antoninorum*, in R. SYME, *Emperors and Biography. Studies in the Historia Augusta*, Oxford 1978, p. 78-88.

⁸⁹ *Trahitur etiam aliquid (...) ex similitudine* (*D.O.* II 265); *in his (quae trahuntur ex vi rerum) maxime valet similitudo, si tamen ad aliquid inferius leviusque referatur* (*I.O.* VI 3.57).

⁹⁰ A.D. LEEMAN – H. PINKSTER – E. RABBIE, *De oratore libri III*, Dritter Band, Heidelberg 1989, p. 292.

⁹¹ Quintilian's example of *similitudo inserta parabolae* is *illud Augusti, qui militi libellum timide porrigenti, «Noli», inquit, «tanquam assem elephanto des»* (*I.O.* VI 3.59); it is perfectly similar to Vopiscus' first example of *collatio* which runs as follows: *ego enim Magium non conservasse (pecuniam) dico, sed tanquam nudus nuces legeret, in ventre abstulisse* (*D.O.* II 265).

⁹² In *I.O.* VI 3.38 Vopiscus' joke is used by Quintilian to illustrate the first of three ways of dealing with themes for jest: *haec aut ostenduntur, aut narrantur aut dicto notantur*.

of VI 3.59 is in our opinion the *similitudo* dealt with in VI 3.57-58 and illustrated by terms such as *asinus albus*, *equus ferus*, *fibula ferrea* applied to human beings.

The «open» comparison is represented in the *H.A.* by:

caliga Maximini (*Max.* 28.9, said to be a common denomination of «long and awkward fellows»;

apes mansuetae (*El.* 26.8), said of flies, allegedly by Elagabalus⁹³;
unius fundi cultor (*El.* 20.1), name given to the Roman people by Elagabalus;

neniae aniles (*Cl.A.* 12.12), attributed to Septimius Severus, refers disdainfully to Clodius Albinus' Milesian tales (cf. *Cl.A.* 11.8).

Caliga Maximini is far wittier than most witticisms of the author's own crû and may consequently be authentic; *apes mansuetae* is pointless, for bees, owing to their highly developed social life⁹⁴, are usually compared with men⁹⁵ and never considered as *wild* insects; *unius fundi cultor*, on the contrary, resembles Suetonius' historical examples of similar witticisms⁹⁶ which are as a rule far from trivial; *neniae aniles* appears to be inspired by the announcement of the tale of Cupid and Psyche in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*⁹⁷.

Similitudo inserta parabola is jestingly used by the author of the *H.A.* in a personal comment on the reign of Gallienus and in an invented saying attributed to Macrinus' subjects.

In *Gall.* 4.3 it is said that the emperor in question administered the commonwealth «like boys who play at holding power⁹⁸» and according to *O.M.* 5.6-7, after Macrinus had emblazoned himself with the name of Severus, although not connected with him by any tie of kin, people jested (*iocus exstitit*) «Macrinus is as much a Severus as Diadumenianus is an Antoninus».

⁹³ Cf. *El.* 26.8: he would shut up a vast number of flies in jars of this sort and call them tamed bees.

⁹⁴ Already praised by Seneca, *Epist.* 121.22: *non vides quanta sit subtilitas apibus ad fingenda domicilia, quanta dividui laboris obeundi undique concordia?*

⁹⁵ Cf. e.g. *Aeneid* I 430-436.

⁹⁶ E.g. *harena sine calce* (*Cal.* 53.2), Caligula's view on Seneca's *lenius comptiusque scribendi genus*.

⁹⁷ IV 28.8, where the old maid of a gang of robbers says to the young woman they captured: *ego te narrationibus lepidis anilibusque fabulis protinus avocabo*. Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* and Clodius Albinus' Milesian tales are bracketed together in Severus' letter (apocryphal) to the Senate: *maior fuit dolor, quod illum pro litterato laudandum plerique duxistis, cum ille neniis quibusdam anilibus occupatus inter Milesias Punicas Apulei sui et ludicra litteraria consenseret* (*Cl.A.* 12.12).

⁹⁸ On those plays cf. Plutarch, *Cat. Mi.* 2.5.

Neither of these *conlationes* required any explanation for readers who remembered firstly that Gallienus, according to *Gall.* 1.2, showed himself so careless of public affairs that his name was not even mentioned to the soldiers when Macrianus and Ballista sought someone to appoint as emperor, and second that Macrinus, according to *O.M.* 3.8, gave the name Antoninus to his son Diadumenianus for the purpose of removing the soldiers' suspicion that he himself had slain Severus Antoninus (Caracalla).

In order to be witty, the simile should point out some likeness between beings, objects or situations that are, on the whole, entirely different⁹⁹ from each other¹⁰⁰,

as is the case in Suetonius *Iul.* 10.1, where Marcus Bibulus, Caesar's fellow-consul, is said to have complained «that his was the fate of Pollux, for just as the temple erected in the Forum to the twin brethren bore only the name of Castor, so the joint liberality of Caesar and himself was credited to Caesar alone», or in *Aug.* 53.2, where Augustus is said to have jestingly reproved a timid petitioner for presenting him a libellus «as if he were giving a penny to an elephant»¹⁰¹. Suetonius may have read the anecdote in Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria* VI 3.59¹⁰².

That condition is not fulfilled in the so-called *iocus* attributed to Macrinus' subjects, i.e. their comparison of pseudo-Severus Macrinus with pseudo-Antoninus Diadumenianus.

5. *Portraiture (imagines)*¹⁰³

D.O. II 266 has two examples of this type of humour *in rebus*, the second of which reads as follows:

⁹⁹ Condition easily fulfilled in Augustus' comparisons *ad exprimendam festinatae rei velocitatem*, since their second term used to be: (*celerius*) *quam asparagi coquantur* (*Aug.* 87.1).

¹⁰⁰ This is however not the case in an excellent *example of similitudo inserta parabola* available in Suetonius, *Dom.* 20: *vellem, inquit (Domitianus), tam formosus esse quam Maecius sibi videtur*, whose comic effect is produced by the totally unexpected *sibi videtur*, turning up at the end of the line.

¹⁰¹ *Promiscuis salutationibus admittebat et plebem, tanta comitate adeuntium desideria excipiens, ut quendam ioco corripuerit, quod sic sibi libellum porrigere dubitaret, quasi elephanto stipem.*

¹⁰² Quoted in note 91.

¹⁰³ *Valde autem ridentur etiam imagines, quae fere in deformitatem aut in aliquod vitium corporis ducuntur cum similitudine turpioris (D.O. II 266).*

another instance was my telling Titus Pinarius, who kept twisting his chin when he was speaking, that the time for his observations, if he wished to say anything, would come when he had finished cracking his nut (*D.O.* II 266).

In Suetonius' *Vitae* this kind of acumen is represented by a joke made at the expense of Vespasian, whose face was «of one who was straining» (*veluti nitentis*):

when the emperor asked an *urbanus* to make also a witty remark on him, the wag replied *non infacete*: «I will, when you have finished relieving yourself» (*Vesp.* 20.1).

Dio LXXVII 11.1¹² (Petr. Patr.) concerning Junius Paulinus, a notorious jester in the days of Caracalla, starts from a similar premise («sending for this same man, Antoninus permitted him to write some verses against himself»), but the point of Junius Paulinus' joke («he said that Antoninus looked all the time as if he were in rage»)¹⁰⁴, rewarded with 250.000 denarii by the emperor¹⁰⁵, is far from clear.

According to E. Cary, in his Loeb edition of Dio Cassius, the point seems to be that Paulinus had said in jest «You seem to be angry», really thinking that his angry expression was his usual pose, when in fact Antoninus was angry. It seems more likely that the anecdote was misunderstood by Dio Cassius or by his epitomisers and that Paulinus succeeded in making the emperor laugh by replying to his demand to crack a joke at his expense: «You look as if I had done that already».

The story in question has not been used by the author of the *H.A.*, either because he did not deal with Caracalla's distribution of money and goods to flatterers (Dio LXXVII 11, Xiph.) or because he did not get the point of Dio's anecdote either.

6. Irony (*dissimulatio*)¹⁰⁶

After the author of the *H.A.* had abandoned the basic principles of serious historiography, he appears to have taken pleasure in proclaiming those very principles and his observance of them. The principles proclaimed or allegedly practised by himself are the following:

¹⁰⁴ εἶπεν γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ εὐκέναι θυμουμένῳ.

¹⁰⁵ The reason being ἐκεῖνον δὲ σφόδρα ἐθεράπευσεν· ἤθελε γὰρ δεινὸς καὶ ἄγριος καὶ ἀπότομος ἀεὶ φαίνεσθαι.

¹⁰⁶ *Urbana etiam dissimulatio est, quom (...) toto genere orationis severe ludas, quom aliter sentias ac loquere* (*D.O.* II 269).

attachment to *fidelitas historica*:

he addressed, it is said, the following letter to his father, sending an identical one to his mother also. A copy of this letter I think, for the sake of history (*historiae causa*), should be inserted (*Diad.* 8.4); now good faith forces me to speak the truth, and also the desire of showing to those who wish me to appear as a flatterer that I am not concealing what history demands should be told (*Claud. II* 11.5); I ask you not to consider me too tedious or too wordy in the following statement which I have thought I should introduce *fidei causa*, from the work of Acholius, the *magister admissionum* under Valerian, in the ninth book of his *Acta*¹⁰⁷ (*Aur.* 12.4); Aurelian's letter concerning the Sibylline Books – for I have included it also as evidence for my statements (*ad fidem rerum*) (*Aur.* 20.4); I might indeed have omitted the lives of these men (...), but *ne quid fidei deesset* I have taken care to make known what I have learned about these also (*Q.T.* 15.9);

to selectivity:

we shall bring forwards what we have discovered in various historical works – and they shall be facts that are worthy to be related (*ea quae memoratu digna erunt*) (*O.M.* 1.1); either nothing should be said of petty matters or certainly very little, and then only when light can thereby be thrown on character (*mores possint animadverti*) (*O.M.* 1.5); this is what we have discovered about the younger Gordian that is worthy of mention (*digna memoratus*). For we do not think we need recount absurd and silly tales such as Junius Cordus has written concerning his domestic pleasures and petty matters of that sort (...). It is the duty of historians, rather, to set down in their histories such things as are to be avoided or sought after (*Gord.* 21.3-4); this is what you should know that we have found out concerning Firmus, all, however, that is worthy of mention (*digna memoratu*) (*Q.T.* 6.3); it would be too long to include every trivial thing (*frivola quaeque*) and tiresome to tell of his stature, his person, and his comeliness, or how much he could eat and drink. Let others describe these things, which have almost no value as an example (*quae prope ad exemplum nihil prosunt*) (*Q.T.* 11.4).

The irony of that attachment is intimated by various indications. In the first place by a rather unexpected correction:

there is still in existence a letter, which, *fidei causa*, as is my wont, or rather because I see that other writers of annals have done so, I have thought I should insert (*Aur.* 17.1);

¹⁰⁷ Author and title invented.

also by the jesting tone of *Aur.* 2.1-2 and *Q.T.* 7.6, leaving little doubt as to the lack of sincerity of the author's respect for *fidelitas historica*:

[a discussion on the reliability of historians is concluded by the author's highplaced acquaintance,] Iunius Tiberianus¹⁰⁸, saying *iocando*: «Well then, write as you will. You will be safe in saying whatever you wish, since you will have as comrades in falsehood those authors whom we admire for the style of their histories» (*Aur.* 2.1-2); «one of Hadrian's letters, taken from the works of his freedman Phlegon», is cited¹⁰⁹ by our author «lest an Egyptian be angry with me, thinking that what I have set forth in writing¹¹⁰ is solely my own (*meum esse credat*)» (*Q.T.* 7.6);

also by the fact that the author's profession of that attachment often precedes or follows¹¹¹ a quotation of forged evidence or invented historians, and last but not least by the large amount of obvious *frivola* flavouring most of the untraditional biographies of this collection.

7. Parody¹¹²

The fanciful discussion in *C.C.N.* 4.1-5.3 on Carus' birthplace and descent, in which Rome (from Illyrian parents), Illyricum (from Carthaginian parents), Milan (but registered at Aquileia) and Rome (from Roman parents) are successively taken into account, may be a parody on what the author believed to be Suetonius' lengthiness in locating the place where Caligula was born (*Cal.* 8.1-5)¹¹³.

In *Comm.* 11.14-12.9 the author of the *H.A.*, contrary to his habit, dates the major events of Commodus' public career:

he was called Germanicus *idibus Herculeis* (= Octobribus) in the consulship of Maximus and Orfitus. He was received into all the sacred colleges as a priest on *XIII kal. Invictas* (= Februarias) in the consulship of Piso and Julianus. He set out for Germany on *XIII kal. Aelias*

¹⁰⁸ *Praefectus urbis*. The historical Iunius Tiberianus held that prefecture for the second time in 303-304, long before the *H.A.* was written.

¹⁰⁹ In actual fact: fabricated.

¹¹⁰ Referring to *Q.T.* 7.4: *sunt enim Aegyptii, ut satis nosti, viri ventosi, furibundi, iactantes, iniuriosi, atque adeo vani, liberi, novarum rerum usque ad cantilenas publicas cupientes, versificatores, epigrammatarii, mathematici, haruspices, medici*.

¹¹¹ Cf. *Diad.* 8.4, *T.T.* 10.9 and 11.6-7, *Aur.* 12.4 and 20.4.

¹¹² *In re est item ridiculum, quod ex quadam depravata imitatione sumi solet* (*D.O.* II 242).

¹¹³ Cf. A. CHASTAGNOL, *Quatre études sur la Vita Cari (inter alia: La patrie de Carus)*, in *BHAC* 1977-78, Bonn 1980, p. 45-71, in part. p. 53, and Nicole Ziegler's note 12 on *C.C.N.* 4.1 in E. Hohl, *o.l.*, II p. 433.

(= Iunias), *ut postea nominavit* (...). Together with his father he was acclaimed Imperator on *V kal. Exsuperatorias* (= Decembres) in the year when Pollio and Aper served their second consulships (...). He set out on his second expedition on *III nonas Commodias* (= Augustas) in the consulship of Orfitus and Rufus. He was officially presented by the army and the senate to be maintained in perpetuity in the Palatine mansion, henceforth called Commodiana, on *XI kal. Romanas* (= Novembres), in the year that Praesens was consul for the second time (...). Vows were assumed in his behalf *nonis Piiis* (= Aprilibus), when Fuscianus was consul for the second time (*Comm.* 11.14-12.9).

In substituting the Commodian names for the traditional designations of the Roman months, he makes fun of Commodus' renaming, for that short-lived reform did not take place until 191, towards the end of his reign. By saying explicitly that the name (Aelius) by which he dates Commodus' departure for Germany (19.5.175) came only into use *later* (*postea nominavit*) (*Comm.* 12.2), the author gave a hint that his use of the Commodian names was no homage but mere mockery.

Herodian, in the introduction to his work, distances himself from the historiography of his own days:

in their narratives most writers engaged in compiling history have shown a contempt for the truth and preoccupation with vocabulary and style (I 1.1); some authors, through the excellent quality of their style, have made trivial events acquire a spurious importance with posterity, greater than was deserved by the truth (I 1.2).

The author of the *H.A.*, blending parody with irony, behaves on several occasions as if he endorsed Herodian's viewpoint:

these verses (...) I have given them in such a way *ut fidem servarem*, although they could be translated more elegantly; but I do it with the purpose of preserving historical truth (*ut fidelitas historica servaretur*), which I have thought should be guarded above all else, and caring naught for considerations of literary style (*T.T.* 11.6); for, indeed, it is fact (*rem*) that I have determined to put before you and not mere words (*non verba*) (*T.T.* 11.7); nor, in fact, do I seem to myself to have made any promise of literary style, but only of facts (*neque eloquentiam... sed rem*) (*T.T.* 33.8); no fluency or elegance of style can I promise, but only the record of their deeds, which I will not suffer to die (*Prob.* 1.6).

8. *Aretalogy*

At his dinners, marked *ut non nimio sumptu, ita summa comitate*, Augustus *aut acroamata et histriones aut etiam triviales ex circo ludios interponebat*

ac frequentius aretalogos (Suetonius, *Aug.* 74). The aretalogi in question were no preachers of divine ἀρεταί (in the sense of glorious deeds, wonders, miracles¹¹⁴) but raconteurs of astonishing physical feats and capacities surpassing human intelligence, gladly heard though disbelieved.

Aretalogy is different from what Strabo Vopiscus (in *D.O.* II 267) meant by *minuendi aut augendi causa ad incredibilem admirationem efferre*¹¹⁵ or Quintilian (*I.O.* VI 3.90) by *dicere quod fieri non potest*¹¹⁶. Yet it fulfils nonetheless the basic condition of all wit, namely *ut aliter quam est rectum verumque dicatur* (*I.O.* VI 3.89).

Aretalogy has on various occasions been practised by the author of the *H.A.*, who has extended its field to subjects such as imperial munificence and stunts. His aretalogy did not necessarily imply long descriptions: it also appears in short notes served up in the main text, in quotations from non-existing authors and in forged evidence.

Physical feats and capacities:

Cordus, who recounts such details at length in his books, declares that Albinus was a glutton – so much so, in fact, that he would devour more fruit than the mind of man can believe. For Cordus says that when hungry he devoured five hundred dried figs, one hundred Campanian peaches, ten Ostian melons, twenty pounds weight of Labican grapes, one hundred figpeckers, and four hundred oysters (*Cl.A.* 11.2-3);

[Commodus] lived in the Palace rioting amid banquets and in baths along with 300 concubines, gathered together for their beauty and chosen from both matrons and harlots, and with minions, also 300 in number whom he had collected by force and by purchase (...) solely on the basis of bodily beauty (*Comm.* 5.4);

[Elagabalus] occasionally gave a banquet in which he would serve twenty-two courses of extraordinary viands, and between each course he and his guests would bathe and dally with women, all taking an oath *quod efficerent voluptatem* (*El.* 30.3);

[Severus,] struck by Maximinus' bodily size, pitted him first against sutlers, all very valorous men, none the less (...). Whereupon Maximinus overcame sixteen sutlers at one sweat (*uno sudore*) and received his sixteen prizes (*Max.* 2.6-7);

¹¹⁴ Cf. *LSJ* s.v., I 1.b.

¹¹⁵ *Admiratio* = astonishment, as in *D.O.* II 69 and II 288. Vopiscus' examples in II 267 are instances of augmenting and lessening hyperboles: *ita sibi ipsum magnum videri Memmium, ut in forum descendens caput ad fornicem Fabi dmitteret et si quintum pareret mater eius (scil. C. Metelli), asinum fuisse parituram*.

¹¹⁶ After referring to VI 3.73 (*redarguimus interim aperte, ut Cicero Vibium Curium multum de annis aetatis suae mentientem, «Tum ergo, cum una declamabamus, non eras natus»*), Quintilian adds in *I.O.* VI 3.90: *fieri enim certe non poterat ut, cum declamaret, natus non esset*.

it is agreed, moreover, that often in a single day Maximinus drank a Capitoline amphora of wine and ate forty pounds of meat, or, according to Cordus, no less than sixty (*Max.* 4.1);

[Maximinus] often would catch his sweat and put it in cups or a small jar, and he could exhibit by this means two or three pints of it (*Max.* 4.3); [Maximinus] was of such size¹¹⁷, as Cordus reports, that men said he was six inches over eight feet in height, and his thumb was so huge that he used his wife's bracelet for a ring (*Max.* 6.8);

if he struck his horse with his fist, he loosened its teeth, or with his heels, broke its legs, he could crumble tufaceous stones and split saplings (*Max.* 6.9);

[Aurelian] had the greatest delight in a gourmand, who would eat vast amounts to such an extent that in one single day he devoured, in front of Aurelian's own table, an entire wild boar, one hundred loaves of bread, a sheep and a pig and, putting a funnel to his mouth, drank more than a caskful (*Aur.* 50.4);

[Proculus wrote to a kinsman:] «I have taken one hundred maidens from Sarmatia. Of these I mated with ten in a single night; all of them, however, I made into women, as far as was in my power, in the space of fifteen days» (*Q.T.* 12.7).

Imperial munificence:

[Elagabalus] promised a phoenix¹¹⁸, it is said, to some guests, or in lieu of the bird a thousand pounds of gold, payable in the imperial residence (*El.* 23.6);

«by way of supplies you will furnish him (Claudius, the future emperor) each year out of our private treasury three thousand modii of wheat, six thousand modii of barley, two thousand pounds of bacon, three thousand five hundred sextarii of well-aged wine» (*Claud.* II 14.3, spurious letter of Valerian¹¹⁹);

«wherefore you will supply the aforesaid man (Aurelian, the future emperor), as long as he shall be in Rome, with sixteen loaves of soldiers' bread of the finest quality, forty loaves of the quality used in

¹¹⁷ Herodian's description of Maximinus (probably *de visu*) refrains from aretalogy: ἦν δὲ καὶ τὴν ὄψιν φοβερώτατος, καὶ μέγιστος τὸ σῶμα, ὥς μὴ ῥαδίως αὐτῷ τινὰ μήτε Ἑλλήνων τῶν σωμασκούντων μήτε βαρβάρων τῶν μαχιμωτάτων ἐξισοῦσθαι (VII 1.12).

¹¹⁸ Cf. M.L. WALLA-SCHUSTER, *Der Vogel Phönix in der antiken Literatur und der Dichtung des Laktanz*, Vienna 1969.

¹¹⁹ C.A. van Sickle's attempt to turn the forgery in question into a mainly authentic letter of appointment of a military commander, giving an idea of the brilliant standard of life granted by Diocletian to his generals (*The Salarium of Claudius Gothicus (Claudius 14.2-15) Viewed as a Historical Document, AClass.23* (1954), p. 47-62), was commented on by E. HOHL, *Historia Augusta, Römische Herrschergestalten*, I, p. 15-16, as follows: «auf mich wirkt sie wie eine witzige Parodie auf eine unter falscher Prämisse mit strenger, leider verkehrter Methode durchgeführte Quellenanalyse».

camp, forty pints of table-wine, the half of a swine, two fowl, thirty pounds of pork, forty pounds of beef» (*Aur.* 9.6, another apocryphal letter of Valerian);

[Aurelian], at the time of his setting out for the East, promised, if he came back victorious, to give to the populace crowns weighing two pounds apiece; the populace expected crowns of gold, and these Aurelian could or would not give, and so he had crowns made of the bread now called wheaten and gave one to each separate man (*Aur.* 35.1); «you will order to supply him (Probus, the future emperor) for his daily rations with [...] pounds of beef, six pounds of pork, ten pounds of goat's meat, one fowl every second day, ten pints of old wine every day» (*Prob.* 4.6, again a spurious letter of Valerian);

The most elaborate aretology of imperial munificence is that of the presents offered by Verus to the twelve guests of a banquet whose estimated cost was six million sesterces (*Ver.* 5.2-5).

Imperial collections:

[Severus Alexander] arranged aviaries of pea-fowl, pheasants, hens, ducks, and partridges and from these he derived great amusement, but most of all from his doves, of which he had, it is said, as many as twenty thousand (*S.A.* 41.7).

Imperial stunts:

one summer he made a mountain of snow¹²⁰ in the pleasure-garden attached to his house, having snow carried there for the purpose (*El.* 23.8);

once he harnessed lions to his chariot and called himself the Great Mother, and on another occasion, tigers, and called himself Dionysus (*El.* 28.2);

as to what Aurelius Festivus, Aurelian's freedman, has reported about him in detail, if you wish to learn it, you should read him yourself, most of all the passage which tells how the same Firmus went swimming among the crocodiles when rubbed with crocodiles' fat, how he drove an elephant and mounted a hippopotamus and rode about sitting upon huge ostriches, so that he seemed to be flying (*Q.T.* 6.2).

The aretology (*haec et alia fidem transeuntia*) concerning Elagabalus is represented in *El.* 30.8 as if it were fabricated (*credo esse ficta*) «by those who wished to vilify Elagabalus in order to curry favour with Alexander».

¹²⁰ Elagabalus' exploit may have been suggested to our author by Suetonius' note on Caligula's craving for stunts in matters of civil engineering: *in extructionibus praetorium atque villarum omni ratione posthabita nihil tam efficere concupiscebat quam quod posse effici negaretur* (*Cal.* 37.2).

Haec refers to *El.* 30.7: «it is further related of him that he constructed baths in many places, bathed in them once, and immediately demolished them, merely *ne ex usu balneas haberet*¹²¹. And he is said to have done the same with houses, imperial headquarters (*praetorii*), and summer-dwellings (*diaetis*)». The information in question reminds one of Dio 77.9.7 (Xiph.) concerning the reign of Caracalla: «we constructed amphitheatres and race-courses wherever he spent the winter or expected to spend it, all without receiving any contribution from him; and they were all promptly demolished, the sole reason for their being built in the first place being, apparently, that we might become impoverished» and may consequently well be historical. As for *alia*, it remains uncertain what information (probably by Dio, who wrote his work during the reign of Severus Alexander; not by Herodian¹²²) it refers to.

9. *The unexpected*¹²³

A first type of *inopinatum* is created by drawing logical conclusions from somebody else's lies or from crazy premises, as Cicero did when according to *I.O.* VI 3.73 he refuted the extravagant lies of Vibius Curius about his age: «well, then, in the days when you and I used to practice declamation together, you were not even born», and again in *Ad fam.* VII 30.1, when he made the following remark on the brevity of C. Caninius Rebilus' office as *consul suffectus*, limited to a single day¹²⁴:

so I would have you know that in the consulship of Caninius nobody lunched. Still nothing untoward occurred while he was consul, for so wonderfully awake was he that, during the whole of his consulship, he saw no sleep¹²⁵.

¹²¹ «In order that he might not derive any advantage from them» (Magie); «um keine allgemein zugänglichen Bäder zu haben» (Hohl).

¹²² *Alia* cannot refer to information in *El.* 8.3 on a *sparsio* including *boves opimos et camelos et asinos et servos*, derived from Herodian's note on the scattering by Elagabalus of ἐκπώματά τε χρυσᾶ καὶ ἄργυρᾶ ἐσθῆτάς τε καὶ ὀθόνας παντοδαπὰς, ζῶα τε πάντα, ὅσα ἡμερα, πλὴν χοίρων (V 6.9), since Herodian, who wrote his history ca. 10 years after Severus Alexander's death, did not intend to vilify Elagabalus in *gratiam Alexandri* and since Elagabalus' *sparsio* was far less stupendous than Nero's undoubtedly historical scattering (by means of tokens) of *mancia, iumenta atque etiam mansuetae ferae, novissime naves, insulae, agri* (Suetonius, *Nero* 11.1).

¹²³ *Scitis esse notissimum ridiculi genus cum aliud expectamus, aliud dicitur* (*D.O.* II 255); *sed ex his omnibus nihil magis ridetur quam quod est praeter expectationem* (*ibid.* II 284); *superest genus decipiendi opinionem aut dicta aliter intelligendi, quae sunt in omni hac materia vel venustissima* (*I.O.* VI 3.84).

¹²⁴ 31 December 45 B.C.

¹²⁵ Further Ciceronian comments on Caninius' consulate are available in Macrobius' *Saturnalia*, cf. II 3.6: *hoc consecutus est Rebilus, ut quaereretur, quibus consulibus consul*

In his life of the former *faber ferrarius* Marius, who «held the imperial power, but only for three days» (T.T. 8.1)¹²⁶, the author of the H.A., after quoting rather freely Cicero's pleasantry about Caninius Rebilus¹²⁷ as:

we have had a consul so stern and severe that during his term of office no one has lunched, no one has dined and no one has slept (T.T. 8.2),

asserted rather rashly that this was also applicable¹²⁸ to Marius «who on the first day was made emperor, on the second seemed to rule, and on the third was slain» (T.T. 8.2).

«What does this man lack, except... fortune and virtue?», Strabo Vopiscus' example¹²⁹ in D.O. II 281 of «a laugh being also scored by sentences that do not hang together (*discrepantia*)», is an example of another type of *inopinatum*.

In his life of Domitian, Suetonius quotes among the *dicta notabilia* of the emperor his saying that «unhappy is the lot of emperors, who are never believed about their disclosure of a conspiracy unless... they are slain» (Dom. 21). In inventing a letter of Marcus Antoninus to Lucius Verus, the H.A. ascribes the saying in question to Hadrian rather than to Domitian («who is reported to have said it first»), «for *bona dicta* when uttered by tyrants have not as much weight as they deserve», and, unaware of the humorous turn of the emperor's *dictum*, spoils it com-

fuerit; VII 3.10: *solent*, inquit, *esse flamines diales, modo consules diales habemus* (...); eidemque exprobranti sibi quod ad eum consulem non venisset, *veniebam*, inquit, *sed nox me comprehendit*.

¹²⁶ According to Eutropius, Marius reigned no longer than a single day, cf. *Breviarium* IX 9.2: ... *Marius, vilissimus opifex, purpuram accepit et secundo die interfectus est*. The mere fact that there is numismatic evidence on Marius' reign shows that it must have been considerably longer than a couple of days. Aurelius Victor, *Caes.* 33.12, has: *Hoc (scil. Mario) iugulato post biduum Victorinus eligitur*, which does not necessarily confirm *triduum tantum imperavit* (T.T. 8.1), for *post biduum* may be an adverbial complement of *eligitur*, not of *iugulato*, cf. A. CHASTAGNOL, *L'empereur gaulois Marius dans l'Histoire Auguste*, in *BHAC* 1971, Bonn 1974, p. 54.

¹²⁷ Referred to as *ille consul qui sex meridianis horis consulatum suffectum tenuit*.

¹²⁸ As if the Romans of Marius' day used to lunch, dine and sleep no oftener than every third day.

¹²⁹ Borrowed in I.O. VI 3.84 (dealing with *inopinata*), where it is accompanied by a remark attributed to the orator Domitius Afer: *homo in agendis causis optime vestitus*, «for pleading causes he is most admirably... dressed». Novius, playwright of Atellanae, was full of quips of that sort; Vopiscus quotes from him: *sapiens, si algebis, tremes*, «a philosopher, if he is cold, will ... shiver» (D.O. II 285). A.D. LEEMAN – H. PINKSTER – E. RABBIE, *o.l.*, vol. 3, p. 328 quote in their interpretation of this passage a remark made by Talaeus (Omer Talon, 1595-1652) which appears to have remained unknown to several translators of Cicero's *De oratore*: *cum ita dicitur, expectatur magnum aliquid contra frigus; at praeter expectationem subicitur 'tremes', ad irridendos Stoicos, qui ab omni affectu vindicant sapientem*.

pletely by transposing the unexpected *nisi occisis* from the end of the sentence to an inappropriate position:

condicio principum miserrima, quibus de coniuratione comperta non creditur nisi occisis is quoted in the alleged letter of Marcus Antoninus as *misera condicio imperatorum, quibus de adfectatata tyrannide nisi occisis non potest credi* (A.C. 2.5).

Far better and no doubt historical is, in Hadrian's Life, the unexpected and yet quite comprehensible reason why, according to the rhetorician Favorinus, the emperor always had the last word, even in grammatical matters:

on being reproached by his friends for having yielded without reason to Hadrian's criticism of a word which he had used, the word in question being used by *idonei auctores*, he raised «a merry laugh» (*iucundissimum risum*) by saying that «he regarded as the most learned of men the one who has... thirty legions» (Hadr. 15.12-13).

There is in the *H.A.* a third type of *inopinata*. In his aretalogy of Valerian's generosity towards Aurelian, *liberator Illyrici, Galliarum restitutor* and future ruler, the author of the *H.A.* inserts quite unexpectedly considerations of that same emperor on the necessity of a sound administration of the commonwealth:

«it had been our wish to bestow on each and every man who has been loyal to the commonwealth a much larger recompense than his rank demands (...) but the public discipline requires that none shall receive from the income of the provinces a greater sum than the grade of his position permits (Aur. 9.2); and yet there is nothing but this that I can bestow on such a man (Aurelian) by way of reward for his services; for a wise and careful administration of the commonwealth will not permit it» (Aur. 9.5).

In another forgery the unexpected similarly consists in alternating fanciful figures on Valerian's generosity with indications of the emperor's stinginess and of his readiness to leave the beneficiary (Claudius, military tribune and future emperor) in the lurch:

«you will give him each year out of our private treasury one cuirass, to be returned (Claud. II 14.5), also one cook, to be returned, one muleteer, to be returned (Claud. II 14.7), one secretary, to be returned, and one server at table, to be returned (Claud. II 14.9), one toga, to be returned, one broad-striped tunic, to be returned¹³⁰ (Claud. II 14.10),

¹³⁰ In S.A. 42.4, a list (equally fabricated) of equipment furnished to provincial governors the latter were supposed *reddituri deposita administratione mulas, mulos, equos*,

one thousand pounds of firewood each day, if there is an abundant supply, but if there is none, he shall bathe in the public bath (*Claud. II* 14.13); all else (...) you will supply in due amount, but in no case shall the equivalent in money be given, and if there should be a lack of anything in any place, it shall not be supplied, nor shall the equivalent be exacted in money» (*Claud. II* 14.14).

Unless he hugged himself at the very thought of *fooling* his readers, we must suppose that the author of the *H.A.* produced this sort of humour in the conviction that at least some of his readers were able to distinguish playful invention from serious historiography.

The general conclusions of these notes on verbal humour in the *H.A.* are the following. In spite of a lack of information on the rulers' sense of humour, especially on that of the *tyranni* (on whose character and intellectual capacities very little was known), the author of the *H.A.* felt obliged to enrich his biographies with a certain dose of *sal*. Although he was still capable of appreciating good humour¹³¹, his homemade pleasantries, often far-fetched, prepared, reiterated, explained, were quite inferior to the genuine humour of his main characters and their subjects, and they lay to a large extent, as was to be expected of a *ludi magister*, in the field of the *ridiculum in verbis*. That genuine humour is practically absent not only from his lives of *Caesares* and *tyranni*, but also from his *vitae* of *Augusti* posterior to Caracalla. Both in recording and in inventing jokes and pleasantries the author of the *H.A.* as a rule¹³² refrained from indecency¹³³ and scatology; the same applies to his invention of jokes in the field of action¹³⁴.

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muliones et cocos, cetera (i.e. twenty pounds of silver, garments for use in the forum, at home and for the bath, and *singulas concubinas quot sine his esse non possent*) *sibi habituri si bene egissent, in quadruplum reddituri si male.*

¹³¹ In spite of some cases of misunderstanding, cf. *archisynagogus* in *S.A.* 28.7.

¹³² Except *Q.T.* 12.7, fictitious letter of Proculus concerning his dealing with one hundred captive maidens from Sarmatia, cf. sub aretology, p. 202.

¹³³ Sharing in this respect the opinions of the theoreticians on humour cf. *D.O.* II 252: *obscenitas non solum non foro digna sed vix convivio liberorum; I.O.* VI 3.47: *in primis ex amphibolia neque illa obscena (conveniunt), quae Atellani e more captant, nec qualia vulgo iactantur a villissimo quoque, conversa in maledictum fere ambiguitate.*

¹³⁴ Except Elagabalus' imitation of a well-known gesture of Aphrodite (*una manu ad mammam altera pudendis adhibita*) in staging an obscene version of Paris' judgment (*El.* 5.4) and *Comm.* 11.1: *dicitur saepe pretiosissimis cibis humana stercora miscuisse nec abstinuisse gustum, aliis ut putabat inrasis.*

POLITICAL CONCEPTS IN PLUTARCH'S DION AND TIMOLEON

This paper focuses on three important political concepts which Plutarch employs in his *Dion* and *Timoleon*. First, especially in the *Dion*, the wise man as opposed to the tyrant. Secondly the tension between policies guided by sound philosophical and moral principles on the one hand and wrongly materialistically oriented mobs — people or soldiers — on the other hand, and thirdly the causes of failure and success in politics.

In Plutarch's own days his parallel *Lives* of Dion and Brutus may have been looked upon as important works within his collection of *Bioi*, for both the Greek and the Roman hero belonged to a small, almost canonical group of philosophically minded exemplary politicians, who, fighting tyrannical leaders or emperors, had come to grief in practical politics. In his *Meditations*, I 14, the emperor Marcus Aurelius observes:

From my brother Severus I learnt to love my relations, to love the truth and to love justice. Through him I came to know of Thræsea, Cato, Helvidius, Dion¹ and Brutus, and became acquainted with the conception of a community based on equality² and freedom of speech for all, and a monarchy concerned primarily to uphold the liberty of the subject. He showed me the need for a fair and dispassionate appreciation of philosophy, an addiction to good works, open-handedness, a sanguine temper, and confidence in the affection of my friends³.

In short, the opposite of standard tyrannical behaviour. Besides, in his parallel biographies of Dion and Brutus it was not just philosophy that was at

¹ This Dion might be Dio Chrysostom, but in that case this string of exemplary personalities would be rather odd, because Dio Chrysostom would have been the only person in this group who was not actively involved in politics and administration. Besides, in his own time Dio Chrysostom may have ranked not among tragic philosophical heroes of the past who opposed tyranny, but rather among philosophically minded sophists or rhetoricians who had had bad luck in choosing Roman patrons for a while. See R.B. RUTHERFORD, *The Meditations of Marcus Aurelius. A Study*, Oxford 1989, p. 64 n. 5, against P. DESIDERI, *Dione di Prusa. Un intellettuale greco nell' Impero romano*, Florence 1978, p. 16-19. I owe this reference to J.J. Flinterman.

² Probably ἰσότης κατ' ἄξιν, a fairly common concept in those days. See G.J.D. AALDERS, *Ideas about Human Equality and Inequality in the Roman Empire: Plutarch and Some of his Contemporaries*, in I. KAJANTO (ed.), *Equality and Inequality of Man in Ancient Thought (Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum, 75)*, Helsinki 1984, p. 55-71.

³ Translated by S. MAXWELL, *Marcus Aurelius, Meditations*, Harmondsworth 1964, p. 39.

stake, but the wisdom of the Academy, the school with which Plutarch probably most of all sympathized⁴. In *Dion* 1.1–2.2 Plutarch says:

If it be true then, o Sosius Senecio, as Simonides says⁵, that Ilium ‘is not wroth with the Corinthians’ for coming up against her with the Achaeans, because the Trojans also had Glaucus, who sprang from Corinth, as a zealous ally, so it is likely that neither Romans nor Greeks will quarrel with the Academy, since they fare alike in this treatise containing the Lives of Dion and Brutus, for Dion was an immediate disciple of Plato, while Brutus was nourished on the doctrines of Plato. Both therefore set out from one training-school, as it were, to engage in the greatest struggles. And we need not wonder that, in the performance of actions that were often kindred and alike, they bore witness to the doctrine of their teacher in virtue, that wisdom and justice must be united with power and good fortune if public careers are to take on beauty as well as greatness. For as Hippomachus the trainer used to declare that he could recognize his pupils from afar even though they were but carrying meat from the market-place, so it is natural that the principles of those who have been trained alike should permeate their actions, inducing in these a similar rhythm and harmony along with their propriety. Moreover, the fortunes of the two men, which were the same in what befell them rather than in what they elected to do, make their lives alike. For both were cut off untimely, without being able to achieve the objects to which they had determined to devote the fruits of their many and great struggles.

Plutarch’s *Timoleon* has never been considered a key biography within Plutarch’s parallel *Lives*. It has always been looked upon as a fairly unoriginal treaty on the effects of τύχη, σοφία and ἀρετή in practical politics. In the Preface to his parallel *Lives* of Timoleon and Aemilius, 1.6–8, Plutarch observes:

Among these — i.e. Plutarch’s fairest examples, see Preface 1.5 — were Timoleon the Corinthian and Aemilius Paullus, whose *Lives* I have now undertaken to lay before my readers; the men were alike not only in the good principles which they adopted, but also in the good fortune which they enjoyed in their conduct of affairs, and they will make it hard for my readers to decide whether the greatest of their successful achievements were due to their good fortune or their wisdom.

Throughout his *Dion* biography Plutarch sets philosophy against tyranny and wise men, in this case Plato and Dion, against tyrannical,

⁴ See G.J.D. AALDERS – L. DE BLOIS, *Plutarch und die politische Philosophie der Griechen*, in *ANRW* II 36.5 (1992), p. 3389–3397.

⁵ Fr. 50 Bergk.

militarily based power. In chapter 4.4 he says about Plato's first visit to Syracuse, in 388 BC:

This was not of men's devising, but some heavenly power, as it would seem, laying far in advance of the time a foundation for the liberty of Syracuse, and devising a subversion of tyranny, brought Plato from Italy to Syracuse and made Dion his disciple.

In 7.4 ff. Plutarch tells us that after the death of Dionysius I, the tyrant *par excellence*, the tyranny of his successor Dionysius II was softened by Dion's influence, although the new tyrant gave in to a love for laxity and drinking bouts, thus melting and destroying the 'adamantine bonds' with which the elder tyrant had left the monarchy fastened. Plutarch ascribes this unseemly behaviour to the new tyrant's want of education (9.1). In chapter 10 Plutarch has Dion persuade the tyrant to invite Plato, in his view the first of philosophers, to come to Syracuse. Dion exhorted Dionysius to apply himself to study and become a disciple of Plato in order that his character might be regulated by the principles of virtue, and that he might be conformed to that divinest and most beautiful model of all being, in obedience to whose direction the universe issues from disorder into order; in this way he would procure great happiness for his people, and that obedience which they now rendered dejectedly and under the compulsion of his authority, this his moderation and justice would base upon goodwill and a filial spirit, and he would become a king instead of a tyrant. For the 'adamantine bonds' of sovereignty were not, as his father used to say, fear and force and a multitude of ships and numberless barbarian bodyguards, but goodwill and ardour and favour engendered by virtue and justice. In this chapter Plutarch has Dion use a combination of common fourth-century BC Greek arguments about the difference between the good king and the tyrant that had become traditional⁶, the age-old order-disorder opposition that looms large in many Greek myths⁷, and the comparison of the good king with the heavenly father, which was quite old, but became popular again in the second and third centuries AD⁸.

⁶ See for example Xenophon, *Agesilaus*, passim; *Cyrop.* VIII 1.2 ff.; *Mem.* IV 6.12; *Oecon.* 21 and *Hiero* 11.7 ff.; Isocrates, *Evagoras* and the letters *Ad Nicoclem*, esp. the preface to II *Ad Nicoclem*; the Platonic *Seventh Epistle* 351AB and Aristotle, *Pol.* V 8-9, 1310b1-1316a1.

⁷ See H.S. VERSNEL, *Greek Myth and Ritual: the Case of Kronos*, in J.N. BREMMER (ed.), *Interpretations of Greek Mythology*, London 1987, p. 121-152.

⁸ See L.J. SWIFT, *The Anonymous Encomium of Philip the Arab*, *GRBS* 7 (1966), p. 287, on ps.-Aelius, *Eis basilea* 22.

In chapter 11 (cp. ch. 18.5) Plutarch introduces the Pythagorean philosophers in Italy, who had come to power in several Greek city-states there. They urge Plato to go to Sicily and obtain control over the youthful soul of Dionysius II, which was now tossed about on a sea of great authority and power, in order to steady it by his weighty reasonings⁹. In chapter 12 Plutarch says:

For Dion had hopes, as it seems likely, that by means of the visit of Plato he could mitigate the arrogance and excessive severity of the tyranny, and convert Dionysius into a fit and lawful ruler.

Plato came to Sicily and after his first conversations with the tyrant success seemed to be near at hand. This greatly annoyed and terrified the supporters of the former régime. Plutarch has them oppose the influence of the wise man, Plato, to military power in chapter 14:

And some pretended to be indignant that the Athenians, who in former times had sailed to Sicily with large land and sea forces, but had perished utterly without taking Syracuse, should now, by means of one sophist, overthrow the tyranny of Dionysius, by persuading him to dismiss his 10,000 bodyguards, and abandon his 400 triremes and his 10,000 horsemen and his many times that number of men-at-arms, in order to seek in Academic philosophy for a mysterious good, and make geometry his guide to happiness, surrendering the happiness that was based on dominion and wealth and luxury to Dion and Dion's nephews and nieces.

After utter failure in 367 or 366 Plato returned to Sicily, probably in 361, giving in once more to the entreaties of Dion, who had been exiled soon after Plato's first arrival in Syracuse, and of his Pythagorean friends in Southern Italy. In 19.1 Plutarch tells us that Plato's return filled Dionysius with great joy, and the Sicilians again with great hope; they all prayed and laboured zealously that philosophy might triumph over tyranny and Plato over Philistus, a staunch supporter of the old tyrannical régime, who had been sent into exile and, during Plato's second visit to Syracuse, had been invited back to Syracuse by his partisans to neutralize Plato's influence on the new tyrant. In 366 he had been successful in doing so.

In describing those events, Plutarch of course relied on his sources. In his *Dion* he borrowed several sentences and descriptions from the Platonic epistles, for example from *epp.* 4 and 7, and from letters written by

⁹ In the Platonic *Seventh Epistle* 338C their influence is taken into account in the story about the events that took place in 361 BC, on the eve of Plato's third visit.

Dion's fellow soldier Timonides or Plato's disciple Speusippus and he explicitly quotes — and sometimes opposes — Ephorus, Theopompus, Philistus, and Timaeus¹⁰. In *Dion* 10.3 ff., where Plutarch says that, according to Dion, Dionysius would become a king instead of a tyrant if he based his power on the goodwill of the people and no longer on his father's 'adamantine bonds' of terror and military power, common fourth-century BC Greek — in particular Isocratean — influences may be at work. By Plutarch's times, notions like these had become an integral part of the common blend of popular philosophical ideas that was passed on through the teaching of the rhetorical schools¹¹. According to Isocrates, *Evagoras* and the letters *Ad Nicoclem*, a good prince had to possess and display mildness (πραότης), love of mankind (φιλανθρωπία), righteousness (δικαιοσύνη), and culture (παιδεία), and had to earn the goodwill (εὔνοια) of his people. *Eunoia* was a very important concept in the works of Isocrates¹². These qualities were all among the

¹⁰ See 4.6 (Plato, *Ep.* 7, 327); 8.4 (Plato, *Ep.* 4, *ad fin.*); 11.3 (Plato, *Ep.* 7, 328); 11.4-7 (Philistus); 14.5 (Timaeus); 22.2 f. (information coming from Speusippus); 24.10 (Theopompus); 30.10 (Timonides, a member of the Academy and also a fellow soldier of Dion); 31.3 (Timonides and Timaeus); 35-36 (Timonides' letter to Speusippus, Timaeus, and Ephorus, who is fiercely criticized); 52.5 (Plato, *Ep.* 4, 320); 53.4 (Plato, *Res publ.* VIII 557d); 54.1 (Plato, *Ep.* VII 333). See H.D. WESTLAKE, *The Sicilian Books of Theopompus' Philippica, Historia* 2 (1954), p. 288-307 (= *id.*, *Essays on the Greek Historians and Greek History*, Manchester-New York 1969, p. 226-250). On Timonides see F. MUCCIOLI, *Osservazioni sull' uso di Timonide nella Vita di Dione di Plutarco, AncSoc* 21 (1990), p. 167-187; D.P. ORSI, *La lotta politica a Siracusa alla metà del IV secolo a.C.*, Bari 1994, p. 27-30; *id.*, *Atanide, Eraclide e Archelao prostatai della città, Chiron* 25 (1995), p. 209 n. 20 (I owe this reference to F. Muccioli). Timonides, like his fellow Academician Speusippus, may have been biased in favour of Dion and against the democratic leader Heraclides. Theopompus, on the other hand, may have used the work of Athanis, a democrat, and may consequently have written in favour of the democrats who fought Dion. See H.D. WESTLAKE, *art. cit.*, p. 237. On Athanis' connections with Heraclides see D.P. ORSI, *art. cit.*, p. 208-212.

¹¹ See G.J.D. AALDERS – L. DE BLOIS, *art. cit.* (n. 4), p. 3402 f. Cf. G.J.D. AALDERS, *Plutarch's Political Thought*, Amsterdam 1982, p. 61 ff.; L. DE BLOIS – J.A.E. BONS, *Platonic and Isocratean Political Concepts in Plutarch's Lycurgus*, in I. GALLO – B. SCARDIGLI (eds.), *Teoria e prassi politica nelle opere di Plutarco*, Naples 1995, p. 99.

¹² See J. DE ROMILLY, *Eunoia in Isocrates or the Political Importance of Creating Goodwill, JHS* 78 (1958), p. 92-101; L. DE BLOIS – J.A.E. BONS, *Platonic Philosophy and Isocratean Virtues in Plutarch's Numa, AncSoc* 23 (1992), p. 169-171. On Isocrates' views in general see Chr. EUCKEN, *Isokrates. Seine Positionen in der Auseinandersetzung mit den zeitgenössischen Philosophen*, Berlin-New York 1983. In Isocrates' view the king had to govern well in a practical sense too, he had to be good at military strategy and tactics and he had to lead his flock to a virtuous life by his inspiring example. His *ethos* had to be impeccable so that he would be able to make the right choices in every situation. His tasks were: to end the misery of an unhappy *polis*, to guard the prosperity of a thriving one and to expand and enlarge the city state he governed.

good things Dion wanted the young tyrant to learn and adopt from Plato, according to *Dion* 7-13.

Plutarch, however, used his evidence to describe Plato's activities in Syracuse as if Plato were a second century AD wise man who was opposing tyrannical rulers and giving advice to good ones, like a philosophical tutor of princes, a role that was very popular among sophists of Plutarch's times, as has already been demonstrated by J. Palm¹³. In *Dion* 14.2-3 Plutarch has Syracusan partisans of the tyranny of Dionysius I value the influence of *one sophist*, i.e. Plato, as more effective in bringing down Syracuse than the Athenian expedition of 415 BC had been, overestimating the influence of sophists and philosophers in the way in which Greek intellectuals of the Second Sophistic used to overrate their activities. The authors of the Platonic Epistles, especially the man who wrote the *Seventh Epistle*, probably Plato himself, are much more sceptical about Plato's chances of exerting real influence on the attitude of the tyrant and changing the polity and mentality of the Syracusans (*Ep.* 3, 315D-317E; *Ep.* 7, 326C ff.; 328B-D; 337E-340A). Like the author of the Platonic *Seventh Epistle* Plutarch also overestimates Dion's philosophical inclinations. Finley rightly observes¹⁴:

«Dion's alleged conversion to the Platonic way of life in 387 produced no visible external effects while he served the tyrant for twenty more years and grew rich and powerful in the process. The Seventh Letter, despite its verbosity, has remarkably little practical advice, though that was its ostensible purpose. It is largely a disquisition on metaphysics interlarded with generalities about the rule of law, the need for selecting good friends carefully and the good government Dion would have established had he been permitted to».

In Plutarch's times, and even more so afterwards, the topic of the wise man as opposed to the tyrant was very popular. To mention only a few examples: Dio Chrysostom, Plutarch's coeval, became one of Domitian's victims¹⁵. He wrote about the tyrant and the good king in several orations, for example in his third oration on kingship. In his fourth speech he opposed Diogenes, one of the founding fathers of cynicism, to Alexander the Great, the paradigm of military and political power¹⁶.

¹³ Rom, *Römertum und Imperium*, Lund 1959.

¹⁴ See M.I. FINLEY, *Ancient Sicily*, London 1979², p. 92.

¹⁵ See C.P. JONES, *The Roman World of Dio Chrysostom*, London-Cambridge (MA) 1978, p. 45 ff.; P. DESIDERI, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 187-196.

¹⁶ Cf. C.P. JONES, *op. cit.*, p. 40; 116 f. On the third and fourth orations on kingship see P. DESIDERI, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 287-304.

Hadrian, in spite of his philhellenism and his love of Greek *paideia*, almost lost his popularity among Greek intellectuals when, behaving like a real tyrant, he maltreated sophists and philosophers like Heliodorus, Eudaemon, Favorinus and Secundus, or the architect Apollodorus¹⁷. The heroes of the so-called stoic opposition toward Caesar, the Julio-Claudian emperors and the Flavians, Cato Minor, Paetus Thrasea, and Helvidius Priscus were — as we have seen — lumped together with Dion and Brutus as canonical models of wise men opposing tyranny in one short sentence in Marcus Aurelius' *Meditations*¹⁸.

In the Severan age and the following decades of the third century the position of wise men and their encounters with rulers became even more overrated. Apollonius of Tyana was, in his own days, a travelling magician and philosopher of minor significance, not a first-rate intellectual who knew senators and had been admitted to the imperial court¹⁹. His biographer Philostratus, however, transformed him into a neopythagorean philosopher gifted with a superhuman nature who was a hero of Greek *paideia*²⁰. Philostratus was acquainted with the empress Julia Domna and he was the author of the *Vita Apollonii* and the *Vitae Sophistarum*, works that are permeated with a keen sense of the superiority of the Greek literary civilization²¹. In his *Vita Apollonii* 5.28 Philostratus has the prospective ruler Vespasian ask Apollonius to make him emperor. Apollonius answers that he has already done so by praying for a ruler like Vespasian. The tyrant Domitian, Vespasian's son, had Apollonius arrested, but he was not able to detain the wise man; Apollonius disappeared from the court room miraculously (*Vita Apollonii* 8.1-6). In the *Vita Apollonii* we also find a keen interest in India²², a country where the wise men, the Brahmins, are venerated by kings²³.

¹⁷ On Hadrian's quarrels with intellectuals see Cassius Dio LXIX 3.3-4.6. See G.W. Bowersock, *Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire*, Oxford 1969, p. 50-52; 81.

¹⁸ See *Meditations* I 14. On Paetus Thrasea see Tacitus, *Annals* XIV 12.2, 49.1 ff.; XVI 33-34; Suetonius, *Nero* 37.1, *Dom.* 10.3; Cassius Dio LXI 15.1 ff., 20.4; LXII 26.1 ff. On Helvidius Priscus see Tacitus, *Annals* XVI 33-34; Suetonius, *Vesp.* 15, *Dom.* 10.3; Cassius Dio LXIV 7.2; LXV 12.1 (cf. LXV 13.2 f. and LXVII 13.2).

¹⁹ See G.A. ANDERSON, *Philostratus. Biography and 'Belles Lettres' in the Third Century AD*, London 1986, p. 175-197.

²⁰ See J.J. FLINTERMAN, *Power, Paideia and Pythagoreanism. Greek Identity, Conceptions of the Relationship between Philosophers and Monarchs and Political Ideas in Philostratus' Life of Apollonius*, Amsterdam 1995, p. 60-66; 88.

²¹ See J.J. FLINTERMAN, *op.cit.*, p. 29-51; 89-106; 230.

²² Philostratus, *Vita Apollonii* II 17-39; III 5-50; G.A. ANDERSON, *op. cit.* (n. 19), p. 209 ff.; J.J. FLINTERMAN, *op. cit.*, p. 101 f.; 179.

²³ See Philostratus, *Vita Apollonii* III 26-33; J.J. FLINTERMAN, *op. cit.*, p. 179.

Porphry, in his *Vita Plotini* 12, has the emperor Gallienus and his wife Salonina *venerate* Plotinus. In Greek: ἐτίμησαν δὲ τὸν Πλωτῖνον μάλιστα καὶ ἐσέφτησαν Γαλιηνός τε ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ καὶ ἡ τοῦτου γυνὴ Σαλονίνα. In a different text that is also ascribed to Porphyry, a *scholion* to Homer's *Iliad* A 340, sages and kings are described in neopythagorean terms as beings that stand midway between gods and mortal men. Here too sages rank higher²⁴.

To sum up: In his *Dion* Plutarch sets philosophy against tyranny in an anachronistic way, overaccentuating the role of wise men in classical times as if they were second-century philosophers, who were tutors of emperors and were venerated by earthly princes because of their superior nature and wisdom.

The second concept. The dilemma of the well-educated philosophically trained, benevolent politician who gets bogged down by the wrongly oriented materialistic desires of the masses and the avarice of the soldiers, and then has to resort to tyrannical behaviour in order to survive, is clearly described in Plutarch's *Dion*²⁵. As a matter of fact, in Plutarch's *Lives* the last politicians who had been able to convert their nations to philosophy, agriculture, religion, sound politics and a peaceful way of life instead of war, civil strife and greed, were Lycurgus and Numa, as I have demonstrated in two earlier publications. After their times the masses in Sparta and the rest of Greece as well as in Rome were bent on improvement of their material condition, booty and military glory²⁶.

In 357 BC, in his dissensions with Dionysius II and his clique, Dion opted for a military solution that made him a leader of mercenaries and involved the risk of his position being transformed into a tyrannical one²⁷. After the failure of Plato's third visit to Syracuse in 361 BC and

²⁴ Porphyry, *ad Iliadem* A340 (Schrader); see also W. DINDORF, *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Iliadem* III, Oxford 1877, p. 55. See J.J. FLINTERMAN, *op. cit.*, p. 178 f.

²⁵ See L. DE BLOIS, *The Perception of Politics in Plutarch's 'Roman Lives'*, in *ANRW* II 33.6 (1992), p. 4604 f.; cf. L. DE BLOIS – J.A.E. BONIS, *art. cit.* (n. 12), p. 179.

²⁶ See L. DE BLOIS, *art. cit.* (n. 25), p. 4603; L. DE BLOIS – J.A.E. BONIS, *art. cit.* (n. 11), p. 103.

²⁷ On the historical events of the fateful years 357-354 see Plutarch, *Dion* 21-57; Diodorus Siculus XVI 9-20 and 31.7; Nepos, *Dion* 5-10. More evidence is given by S. BERGER, *Revolution and Society in Greek Sicily and Southern Italy*, Stuttgart 1992, p. 45 n. 234. See H. BERVE, *Dion*, Wiesbaden 1956, p. 65 ff.; K. VON FRITZ, *Platon in Sizilien und das Problem der Philosophenherrschaft*, Berlin 1968, p. 70 ff.; G.A. LEHMANN, *Dion und Herakleides*, *Historia* 19 (1970), p. 401-406; L. DE BLOIS, *Dionysius II, Dion and Timoleon*, *MNIR* 40 (1978), p. 123-126; W. ORTH, *Der Syrakusaner Herakleides als Poli-*

because the tyrant Dionysius refused to continue to send Dion the revenues of his possessions (Plutarch, *Dion* 18.1), which enabled him to live like a prince in exile in Greece, and moreover threatened to marry off Dion's wife, who had remained in Syracuse, to another person (*ibid.* 21.1 ff.), Dion organised an expedition to Sicily in 357 BC, hiring some 800 experienced mercenaries, enlisting volunteers, especially from the Academy²⁸, and taking with him enough armour and supplies to be able to quickly enlarge his army with deserters and partisans who would flock to him as soon as he landed on the Sicilian coast. Dion came on shore in the Carthaginian western part of the island, at Minoa, got the support of the Carthaginian commander who organised an indispensable supply base for Dion's army and took Syracuse in one quick onslaught, chasing Dionysius to his citadel on the island of Ortygia. Marching to Syracuse he had been able to enlarge his army sufficiently with volunteers who turned up to join him. He also received the support of many other Greek towns in Sicily which Dionysius I had degraded to villages within the Syracusan state. Dion restored them to the status of autonomous *poleis* and founded a *symmachia*²⁹ instead of the territorial empire that the Dionysii had built up in Sicily and Southern Italy, measures advocated by Plato in his *Leges* and in the Platonic Epistles³⁰. Dionysius left Ortygia to his officers and became the tyrant of Locri in Bruttium, saving for himself the Italian half of his empire.

Dion was, however, more like a good, personally brave general who was able to evoke loyalty and admiration among his troops than an adroit politician who would take chances as they arose. In Syracusan politics Dion and his followers reached a deadlock because he decided against a revolutionary redistribution of the land at the expense of the rich and instead aimed at reconciliation, entirely according to Plato's preference. Plato considered political stability based on a reconciliation

tiker, *Historia* 28 (1979), p. 51-64; J. GEIGER, *Plutarch's Parallel Lives: the Choice of the Heroes*, *Hermes* 109 (1981), p. 85-104; ID., *Cornelius Nepos and the Ancient Political Biography*, Stuttgart 1985, p. 58-62; F. MUCCIOLI, *art. cit.* (n. 10), p. 167-187; S. BERGER, *op. cit.*, p. 45; D.P. ORSI, *op. cit.* (n. 10), *passim*.

²⁸ G. MARASCO, *La preparazione dell' impresa di Dione in Sicilia*, *Prometheus* 8 (1982), p. 152-176; H.D. WESTLAKE, *Friends and Successors of Dion*, *Historia* 32 (1983), p. 161-172, and D.P. ORSI, *Aristotele e la morte di Dione*, *InvLuc* 13-14 (1991-1992), p. 245.

²⁹ See Plut., *Dion* 40.1 f.; see M. SORDI, *Dione e la symmachia Siciliana*, *Kokalos* 13 (1967), p. 143 ff.

³⁰ See L. DE BLOIS, *Some Notes on Plato's Seventh Epistle*, *Mnemosyne* 32 (1979), p. 275 f.

of quarreling parties — like good moral and philosophical προαίρεσις — a prerequisite for any sound political reform³¹. Dion also instituted a body of twenty law-givers, who were probably to prepare the establishment of the moderate democracy that Plato in *Leges* 710DE³² considered the third best option for a good state. The radical demagogue Heraclides³³, who had in 357 collaborated with Dion in chasing away the tyrant and was now the commander of the fleet, and other even more radical popular leaders then managed to set the *demos* against Dion. They suspected him because of his family ties with Dionysius II and feared that the latter would blackmail him because he still had Dion's wife and son in his power. They moreover began to loath Dion's attitude towards the redistribution of land and houses. So Dion had to fall back on the support of his mercenaries and the rich in Syracuse, who feared radical democracy and a redistribution of possessions. Most of them were not members of ancient Syracusan families, but upstarts who had lent support to the tyranny of the Dionysii³⁴. No wonder that many people believed that Dion had come as a liberator, but was now aiming at tyranny himself, relying on a mercenary bodyguard and former profiteers of the old tyranny. They became even more convinced of this when Dion took Ortygia and got back his son and wife, but refused to destroy the citadel of the tyrants, and — after a new round of conflicts with Heraclides and the mob in the popular assembly — had his competitor murdered. The rich ran out on Dion when he came into financial straits and started to confiscate their properties, and so did the mercenaries when Dion nonetheless did not manage to assemble enough money to pay their dues. One of Dion's comrades from the Academy, Callippus, ingratiated himself with the mercenaries and had Dion murdered in 354 BC³⁵. It is significant that the political

³¹ See L. DE BLOIS, *art. cit.* (n. 30), p. 274 f.; 277 f. Evidence is given on p. 278, in n. 30.

³² «The ideal starting point is dictatorship, the next best is constitutional kingship, and the third is some sort of democracy».

³³ On Heraclides see the works of Lehmann, Orth and Muccioli mentioned in note 26 above, *ll. cc.*

³⁴ See L. DE BLOIS, *art. cit.* (n. 27), p. 130.

³⁵ See L. DE BLOIS, *art. cit.* (n. 27), p. 130 f.; H.D. WESTLAKE, *art. cit.* (n. 28), p. 163 ff.; S. BERGER, *op. cit.* (n. 27), p. 47. In *Rhet.* I 12, 1373a 18-21 Aristotle observes, speaking of the killing of Dion: «It seems as if almost no wrong were being done». According to D.P. ORSI, *art. cit.* (n. 28), p. 245-257, Aristotle certainly did not try to condone the murder, but he may have thought that it was almost accusable because Callippus, the perpetrator, had previously come to bad terms with Dion. I owe this reference to F.Muccioli.

aims of both the rich and the poor were unrelated to Dion's plans. The former wished to retain their recently gained property, the latter to redistribute it. The structure of the society of Syracuse, deficient as it was in a proper, respected ancient aristocracy and a stable, economically satisfied citizenry, would not admit of the political stability which Dion, like Plato, considered a prerequisite condition of any Platonic political reform. The rich had collaborated with the tyrants and many poor families did not have any roots in Syracuse, because they had only come to Syracuse, after Dionysius I had driven them out of their home towns, which he had transformed into veteran colonies for the tyrant's mercenaries. Dionysius I had also increased the citizenry of Syracuse by freeing slaves³⁶.

In an earlier publication³⁷ I have already pointed out that Plutarch employed a kind of 'model' in dealing with the topic of the tragic, philosophically minded politician who comes to grief in practical politics. According to Plutarch's *Lives*, the only statesmen who succeeded in transforming the mentalities of their people were Lycurgus and Numa. In Plutarch's view Lycurgus, the reformer of Sparta, acted like a wisdom-loving politician. He gathered good friends around him, had his people softened by good music that tuned them to his reforms, established a durable political balance, brought about equality among the citizens through his redistribution of the land and created a new mentality in Sparta through his educational system and his frugal economy. King Numa was the only Roman leader who had been successful in turning the Roman people from war and greed to peaceful occupations and religion. Other good wisdom-loving politicians like Lucullus, Cicero, Cato Minor and Marcus Brutus had invariably got into trouble. The wrong materialistic orientation of the mob in Rome and the soldiers, which had arisen after the days of king Numa³⁸, made it impossible for such leaders to stick to a policy based on good philosophical principles. They started to compromise and lost face.

The third concept we wish to consider regards the causes of failure and success in politics. This topic dominates the story-telling in Plutarch's *Timoleon*, but it is an important item in his *Dion* as well.

³⁶ See K.F. STROHEKER, *Dionysios I. Gestalt und Geschichte des Tyrannen von Syrakus*, Wiesbaden 1958, p. 151-157; L. DE BLOIS, *art. cit.* (n. 27), p. 114.

³⁷ See L. DE BLOIS, *art. cit.* (n. 25), p. 4600-4611.

³⁸ See Plut., *Numa* 22.11; *Comparatio Lycurgi et Numae* 4.11.

Plato's pupil Dion failed where the pragmatic Timoleon succeeded³⁹. Timoleon was invited to come from Corinth to Syracuse, originally a Corinthian colony, in 345-344. The Syracusans and the other Sicilian Greeks were at their wits' end after ten years of civil strife and chaos and feared a major Carthaginian invasion. Timoleon enlisted some experienced mercenaries and went to Sicily, where he received the support of Andromachos, the tyrant of Tauromenium, so that he at least had a supply base at his disposal. He then beat the Carthaginians and their allies in the field and in Syracuse, which he took in 343. The tyrant Dionysius II, who had returned to Syracuse in 347, was talked out of his position on the island of Ortygia and packed off to Corinth, where he started to live the life of a private citizen. Timoleon then deposed some of the tyrants in Greek Sicily, gave their cities — Catane and Leontini — freedom and a *polis* government, redistributed the land and houses in Syracuse, where he also destroyed the citadel of the tyrants on the island of Ortygia and started to reorganize Syracuse along the lines of a moderate democracy⁴⁰. He was successful in all his endeavours and undertakings, which he could complete after his astounding victory over his Greek and Carthaginian adversaries at the river Crimisus. According to Plutarch, *Timol.* 36.6, Timoleon was blessed by Tychè or Automatia, to which goddess he dedicated an altar at the end of his life⁴¹, and he certainly had the military strength and the political power that he needed to achieve the goals he aimed at. Besides, like Dion he was a good general who was able to boost his soldiers' confidence. Power, military bravery, insight, and good luck? Isn't that too simple an explanation?

Unlike Dion, Timoleon did not come into financial straits. He did not maintain a large fleet, he obtained money and means from Corinth, made 1000 talents by selling houses which he had confiscated just before he

³⁹ On the historical events of the years 344-336 BC see H.D. WESTLAKE, *Timoleon and the Reconstruction of Syracuse*, *CHJ* 7 (1942), p. 73-100 (= ID., *Essays*, p. 276-312); ID., *Timoleon and his Relations with Tyrants*, Manchester 1952; M. SORDI, *Timoleonte*, Palermo 1961; A.J.M. TALBERT, *Timoleon and the Revival of Greek Sicily*, Cambridge 1971; L. DE BLOIS, *art. cit.* (n. 27), p. 132-141; M.I. FINLEY, *op. cit.* (n. 14), p. 95-101; S. BERGER, *op. cit.* (n. 27), p. 48 f. A survey of the sources is given by A.J.M. TALBERT, *op. cit.*, p. 22-38.

⁴⁰ M. DREHER, *Die syrakusanische Verfassung in Plutarchs Biographien über Dion und Timoleon*, in I. GALLO – B. SCARDIGLI (eds.), *Teoria e prassi politica* (n. 11), p. 135-146, seems to think that Timoleon was a supporter of Corinthian oligarchy, though not on good grounds.

⁴¹ See Plut., *Timol.-Aem.*, *praefatio* 1.7; *Timol.* 12.3; 6.10 and 12; 16.1; 21.5; 30.9; 36.6.

redistributed property in Syracuse, and — without striking a blow — laid hands on the arsenal and the supplies of the tyrant, Dionysius II, whom he talked out of the besieged Ortygia. Furthermore Timoleon profited greatly from raids into western Sicily, and acquired an enormous booty after the victorious battle at the Crimisus⁴². Every time Timoleon found himself without funds he would opportunistically find a way of procuring them at the right time. He was thus able to enlist a sufficiently large nucleus of experienced mercenaries and officers who could beat any citizen militia and were — in qualitative terms — more than a match for the Carthaginian expeditionary army⁴³. Timoleon was not hampered by any political or philosophical principles preventing an adroit course that could have offered the prospect of success. He could adapt his political decisions to the wishes of the citizens and take his chances as they arose.

More important, however, is the logistical explanation. If Plutarch's passing remarks on the strength of the military power of the tyranny of the Dionysii in his *Dion* 14.3 are in any way based on reliable evidence, which we unfortunately do not know, the tyrants had a nucleus of 10,000 guards and 10,000 cavalrymen at their disposal, together with a fleet of 400 ships and many men-at-arms who could supposedly be mobilized at any given time. This military potential would have required the mobilization and upkeep of at least 10,000 horses, 2500 mules and 2000 muleteers and other servants. The minimum daily consumption of barley of soldiers, servants and animals would have amounted to about 62 tons of barley: 22 for the soldiers and the servants, 35 for the horses and 5 for the mules⁴⁴. The men may have consumed other cereals, but my arithmetics are based on barley, the common staple food of Greek armies in those days⁴⁵. Supplies of this magnitude could only be levied from an assessable territory that was much bigger than an average *polis* countryside. The territories

⁴² See L. DE BLOIS, *art. cit.* (n. 27), p. 132-143.

⁴³ See Plut., *Timol.* 30.7; *Comparatio Timoleontis et Aemilii* 1.4 f.; *De sera numinis vindicta* 552F. Some of Timoleon's mercenaries had been among the «temple robbers» who had plundered the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi and had successfully fought Philip II of Macedon for quite a while during the so-called Holy War.

⁴⁴ These are minimum figures. It is more likely that the tyrant will have needed 32.4 tons of barley for 24,000 men, 50 tons for 10,000 horses and 10 tons for 5000 muleteers and other servants.

⁴⁵ See J.K. ANDERSON, *Military Theory and Practice in the Age of Xenophon*, Berkeley-London 1970, p. 45. I thank Paul Erdkamp for doing the arithmetics. He is writing a dissertation on the food-supply of the Roman armies in the last two centuries of Roman republican history, 264-30 BC.

that Dionysius I tried to weld together into one state, comprising two thirds of Sicily and the toe of Italy may have yielded enough supplies. Dionysius I dissolved many autonomous *poleis*, transferred their citizens to Syracuse and settled veterans and mercenaries in their place. He was thus able to tax his territory without having to deal with autonomous *polis* government. He no longer had to rely on the citizen militias of allied *poleis*, but could enlist professional soldiers, using the supplies he was squeezing from the territory he dominated. When, however, the assessable territory of Syracuse shrunk after Dion had restored the Greek cities of Sicily to the status of autonomous *poleis*, which would from this point onwards have to feed their own troops, and after Dionysius II had secured the Italian half of his former empire for himself, the remaining *chora* of Syracuse was probably unable to furnish the foodstuffs needed for an army of this size. The cavalry will have been the first victim, the fleet was indeed the next. Dion laid up the fleet (Plut., *Dion* 50.1 ff.), causing distrust and anger among the radicals who had relied on the citizens who rowed the ships. Dion could not heavily tax the rich in Syracuse either, because he was increasingly forced to rely on them. When he nevertheless started to tax them more heavily, they deserted him. So Dion had to rely on his heavily armed mercenary footsoldiers⁴⁶, in the long run risking a Carthaginian siege, which indeed followed, when the Leontinian tyrant Hicetas, one of Dion's followers and successors, invited the Carthaginians to come to his rescue after Dionysius II had returned to power. A large cavalry force would always hamper the foraging parties of a besieging army, as Ober has shown, and so a big mounted force must have had a deterrent effect on any potential invader⁴⁷.

Timoleon, unlike Dion, secured and even enlarged his supplies by gaining lots of booty and foraging in the Carthaginian western parts of the island. The Corinthians were still paying him contributions and he

⁴⁶ On the way to Syracuse Dion began to mobilize a citizen militia of some 5000 volunteers whom he added to his small army of 800 mercenaries. Heraclides brought in 1500 more mercenaries and a fleet when he arrived in Syracuse, just after Dion had taken the city. The troops mobilized by the league helped to reinstate Dion after he had lost his first round of civil strife against the demagogues in Syracuse, but they — together with the Syracusan citizen militias — were no match for the trained mercenaries of the commanders Dionysius II had left at Ortygia when he retired to Locri. Dion's own mercenaries, probably united with those Heraclides had brought in, had to bear the brunt of the fighting in the city during the years 357-355. See the evidence given in n. 27.

⁴⁷ See J. OBER, *Thucydides, Pericles and the Strategy of Defense*, in J.W. EADIE — J. OBER (eds.), *The Craft of the Ancient Historian*, London–New York 1985, p. 171-188.

also received donations from new allies who came over to his side. Moreover, he was able to procure for his war fund a sizeable amount of money by selling houses he had confiscated.

Plutarch did not take the logistical and financial consequences of Dion's and Timoleon's policies into account. We have to piece together our information on those aspects from other sources, from data that Plutarch gives us in spite of his completely different focus and from sheer deduction. So Plutarch could make the role of *Tyche* and *Aretè* more prominent in his *Timoleon* and reduce to a simple *stasis* model the gradual substitution of a territorial monarchy, having a professional army based on taxation within an extended assessable area, by a *sym-machia* of *poleis*, each having its own army, supposedly consisting of small numbers of mercenaries combined with much bigger citizen militias. These armies were no match for the *condottieri* who flooded Greek Sicily after Dion had brought down the monarchical state of the Dionysii, taking one Greek city after the other. After many years of chaos and plunder, Timoleon, relying on the excellent fighting qualities of his professional soldiery and sound logistics, rounded them up, after he had taken Syracuse and beaten the Carthaginians.

Why did Plutarch underaccentuate or even leave out these important factors in his *Dion* and *Timoleon*? He did have some knowledge of military logistics and he must have found comments on the connection between logistics, strategy and tactics in his sources, as he indeed demonstrates in his *Marius* 15.1 f. and in his *Antonius* 68.4 f. In *Mar.* 15.1 f. we read:

Learning that the enemy (*i.e.* the Teutones) were near, Marius rapidly crossed the Alps and built a fortified camp along the river Rhone. Into this he brought together an abundance of stores, that he might never be forced by lack of provisions to give battle contrary to his better judgement.

In *Ant.* 68.4 f. Plutarch tells us that his ancestors came near to starvation because on the eve of the battle of Actium they had to contribute almost everything they had in store to Antony's army. The news that Antony had lost the fight saved them. The reason must be that these factors did not fit in Plutarch's rhetorical images of Dion, the tragic philosophically minded politician who gets bogged down by the wrong desires of the masses, and Timoleon, the lucky virtuous general. Plutarch preferred to stress the events and elements that corroborated his images, rather than give a complete historical report.

To sum up: Plutarch sought the explanation of failure or success in ethical categories, in the model of the tragic philosopher who collides with the greed and violence of the masses, and in good luck, although he mentions the facts that make different, more tangible, interpretations obvious.

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PLUTARCH'S CONCEPT OF HISTORY: PHILOSOPHY FROM EXAMPLES

Plutarch's interest in historiography is apparent from his polemic *On the Malice of Herodotus* which, together with Dionysius of Halicarnassus' *On Thucydides* and Lucian of Samosata's *How to Write History*, is one of the three full-length treatises on the writing of history to survive from the Graeco-Roman world¹. According to the so-called Lamprias Catalogue, Plutarch also wrote Πῶς κρινοῦμεν τὴν ἀληθῆ ἱστορίαν (no. 124 in the Catalogue) which may be connected with another lost essay of his, Πῶς κρινοῦμεν τὴν ἀλήθειαν (no. 225 of the Catalogue)². Perhaps as Konrat Ziegler has suggested, these works stood in a relationship of the particular to the general («im Verhältnis des Speziellen zum Allgemeinen»)³. But even though Plutarch had a great interest in historiography, he is usually not considered a historian⁴, and that he did not regard himself as such, seems clear from his introduction to the parallel lives *Alexander-Caesar* (1.2-3):

For it is not histories (ἱστορίας) that I am writing, but lives (βίους)⁵;
and in the most illustrious deeds there is not always a manifestation of

¹ For recent assessments of Plutarch's treatise on Herodotus, see A.J. BOWEN, *Plutarch. The Malice of Herodotus*, Warminster 1992; J.P. HERSHBELL, *Plutarch and Herodotus – The Beetle In The Rose*, *RhM* 136 (1993), p. 143-163; and J.M. MARINCOLA, *Plutarch's Refutation of Herodotus*, *AncW* 25 (1994), p. 191-203. For further study of Lucian's *How to Write History*, see G. AVERNARIUS, *Lukians Schrift zur Geschichtsschreibung*, Meisenheim/Glan 1956. Treatises on history (περὶ ἱστορίας) were also attributed to Theophrastus and Praxiphanes, both Peripatetics. Theophrastus' work is listed at Diogenes Laertius V 47. F.W. WALBANK rejected Avernarius' claim that Theophrastus' treatise could not have been about historical writing; see *Gnomon* 29 (1957), p. 416-419.

² See K. ZIEGLER's discussion of the Catalogue in *RE* XXI (1951), cols. 696-702 s.v. *Plutarchos*.

³ For Ziegler's brief remarks, see *ibid.*, col. 903.

⁴ When introducing *Essays on Plutarch's Lives*, Oxford 1995, p. 17, B. SCARDIGLI writes: «one must conclude that Plutarch's Greek *Lives* occupy a fluid and intermediate position in the history of biography. If anything, they approximate more closely to the work of a historian».

⁵ As D.A. RUSSELL, *Plutarch*, London 1973, p. 102, observed, «*bios* means roughly, 'way of life,' whether in an individual or in a society... It also has some connotations of ordinary life, and is associated with the realm of comedy rather than with the grand topics of epic or, for that matter, history... Thus to describe the *bios* of a great man was to say 'what sort of man he was' (*poios tis en*) and to regard him, in a sense, as one of ourselves».

virtue or vice (δήλωσις ἀρετῆς ἢ κακίας), nay, a slight thing like a phrase or a jest often makes a greater revelation of character than battles where thousands fall, or the greatest armaments or sieges of cities⁶.

Much as portrait painters focus on their subjects' eyes in which the character (τὸ ἦθος) shows itself, so Plutarch claims to be concerned with the manifestations or signs of the human psyche (τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς σημεῖα), leaving it to others to describe great contests or struggles (ἀγῶνας)⁷.

Character (τὸ ἦθος) remains a focal point of Plutarch's *Lives*, and in *Nicias* where he relies much on Thucydides and Philistus for their accounts of Nicias' deeds (πράξεις), he declares that these deeds reveal Nicias' temperament and disposition (τὸν τρόπον καὶ τὴν διάθεσιν, 1.5). Besides the works of Thucydides and Philistus, Plutarch also claims to have examined votive offerings and public decrees, not gathering this information as useless research or history (ἄχρηστος ἱστορία), but as material for insight into character and temperament (πρὸς κατανόησιν ἡθους καὶ τρόπου)⁸. Moreover, at the very beginning of *Nicias*, Plutarch comments on Timaeus of Tauromenium's attempt to surpass the matchless (ἀμιμήτως) Thucydides, and from his remarks about Timaeus' affected and pedantic style, there is every reason to conclude that Plutarch read Timaeus' *Histories* as well. Without doubt Plutarch had a vast knowledge of Greek historiography, and drew much from it when writing his *Lives*⁹. An especially good example of Plutarch's use of Greek historians is his *Coriolanus* which, according to Donald Russell, is a «transposition into biographical form of the historical narrative» found in Books V to VII of the *Roman Antiquities* of

⁶ Unless otherwise indicated, all translations of Plutarch's works are from the Loeb Classical Library. Bernadotte Perrin's first volume of the *Lives* was published in 1914, and this and his subsequent translations of the *Lives* have often been reprinted in the Loeb Classical Library. Translations of the *Moralia* are also from the Loeb Classical Library.

⁷ For another of Plutarch's comparisons of painter and biographer, see *Cimon* 2.3. See also N.J. BARBU, *Les procédés de la peinture des caractères et la vérité historique dans les biographies de Plutarque*, diss., Strasbourg 1933.

⁸ By ἄχρηστος ἱστορία Plutarch probably did not mean that history is useless, but that material important for a historian does not concern him as a biographer. See J.R. HAMILTON, *Plutarch. Alexander. A Commentary*, Oxford 1969, p. xxxviii. As Hamilton noted, Plutarch did not always exclude the «stuff of history», and at *Fabius* 16, he gives a description of Carthaginian battle tactics, seemingly irrelevant to Fabius' character. For further discussion, see p. 241-242 below.

⁹ A good survey of Plutarch's sources for his *Lives* is that of K. ZIEGLER, *RE*. XXI (1951), cols. 911-914. Ziegler's discussion of Plutarch's education in cols. 923-925 also provides an overview of Plutarch's tremendous knowledge of ancient Greek historians.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus¹⁰. Plutarch's sources for many of his other Greek *Lives* have been well examined elsewhere. And even though his Latin proficiency seems to have been weak, he drew much from the works of Livy, Cornelius Nepos, Asinius Pollio, and other Latin authors in composing his Roman *Lives*¹¹.

In brief, Plutarch's knowledge of Greek and Latin historians was considerable, and ἱστορεῖν, ἱστορία and ἱστορικός occur with frequency in his *Lives* and *Moralia*. But what did these words mean for Plutarch, and what was his concept of history?¹² When posing these and related questions, it must be observed that «history» has had different meanings for different thinkers, and sometimes the word does not even appear in writings considered «historical». Thucydides, for example, an author much admired by Plutarch, and whose narrative he adapted for some of his *Lives*, never called his work «history»: ἱστορία and ἱστορεῖν do not occur in Thucydides' work. Moreover, the philosophy of history is largely a modern construct. As Robin Collingwood observed in *The Idea of History*, the «philosophy of history» was probably introduced in the eighteenth century by Voltaire who seems to have meant by it no more than «critical history,» some kind of historical reflection in which a writer drew conclusions without repeating what was found in «old books»¹³. Hegel and other nineteenth-century thinkers understood the «philosophy of history» to mean universal or world history, and this his-

¹⁰ D.A. RUSSELL, *Plutarch's Life of Coriolanus*, *JRS* 33 (1963), p. 21-28 (reprinted in B. SCARDIGLI [ed.], *Essays* [n. 4], p. 357-372). Russell's remark is at the very beginning of his study.

¹¹ See, for example, C.B.R. PELLING, *Plutarch's Method of Work in the Roman Lives*, *JHS* 99 (1979), p. 74-96 (reprinted in B. SCARDIGLI [ed.], *Essays* [n. 4], p. 265-318). According to Pelling, the «soundest treatment» of Plutarch's Latinity remains that of H.J. ROSE, *The Roman Questions of Plutarch*, Oxford 1924, p. 11-19. According to Rose, Plutarch had a «rough, practical knowledge of Latin» (p. 11), and could read it «with some facility, if not with much exactness» (p. 14).

¹² J.L. MOLES, *Plutarch. The Life of Cicero*, Warminster 1988, p. 32-36, has good insights into Plutarch's concept of history, and on the similarities and differences between ancient biography and historiography. Historiography, for example, focused on «great things», e.g. battles and sieges, whereas biography concentrated on individuals and character, or «small things». And yet as Moles observed, ancient historiography also gave great prominence to various individuals, and even had a moral purpose. Moles does not, however, consider the meanings that ἱστορία had for Plutarch and his contemporaries. For a useful study of this and related words, see G.A. PRESS, *The Development of the Idea of History in Antiquity*, Kingston-Montreal 1982. Press discusses Plutarch on p. 71-74 and *passim*.

¹³ See R.G. COLLINGWOOD, *The Idea of History* (revised and edited by J. van der Dussen), Oxford 1993, p. 1ff.

tory often involved attempts to discover the laws or principles governing human events. As will be seen, chance and providence have importance in Plutarch's reflections about the past. But whether his remarks on these forces constitute a philosophy of history, deserves later attention in the present study.

From the *Alexander* passage quoted earlier, it seems clear that Plutarch distinguished his *Lives* from «histories». But what considerations led Plutarch to make this distinction, and how can apparent inconsistencies between his remarks in *Alexander* and in other *Lives* be explained? For example, at the beginning of *Tiberius Gracchus*, Plutarch writes:

having finished the first history (τὴν πρώτην ἱστορίαν), we have to look at sufferings no less tragic than those of Agis and Cleomenes in the lives of the Roman couple (συζυγία), Tiberius and Gaius, which we set in parallel¹⁴.

At the beginning of *Fabius Maximus*, Plutarch refers to his preceding life of Pericles, and encourages readers to go on to his «history» (ἱστορίαν) of Fabius. At *Aemilius Paulus* 5.10, after a description of Aemilius' modest and virtuous life, Plutarch states that his «history» (ἱστορία) provides examples for those willing to profit by them. It is still unclear, however, what Plutarch meant by «history,» or how he distinguished «histories» from «lives» which seem to be, all things considered, historical biographies.

Before proceeding further, it is helpful to refer to Gerald Press' study. According to Press, «history» came to have at least three related meanings in antiquity: inquiry or research, literary genre, and narrative or story¹⁵. The basic meaning of ἱστορία remained that of inquiry or research, research after the facts, and attempting to discriminate between often different accounts and opinions. Certainly when writing his *Lives* Plutarch engaged in research, and he sometimes preferred, for example, Thucydides' account to that of other historians. Plutarch's research was, moreover, purposeful, and he tended to interpret almost everything from

¹⁴ For the form of Plutarch's *Lives*, see, for example, K. ZIEGLER, *RE*. XXI (1951), cols. 905-911, and more recently, C.F. KONRAD, *Plutarch's Sertorius. A Historical Commentary*, Chapel Hill 1994, p. XXVI-XXX.

¹⁵ G.A. PRESS's classification of the meanings of «history» in antiquity is quite informative. See his *Idea of History in Antiquity* (n. 12), p. 23ff. See also C.W. FORNARA, *The Nature of History in Ancient Greece and Rome*, Berkeley 1983. Other recent studies of ancient historiography are, for example, A.J. WOODMAN, *Rhetoric in Classical Historiography*, Beckenham 1988, and the essays collected in S. HORNBLLOWER (ed.), *Greek Historiography*, Oxford 1994.

an ethical perspective. And when Plutarch refers to ἄχρηστος ἱστορία at *Nicias* 1.5, he perhaps meant research undertaken without regard for some manifestation of human virtue or vice (δῆλωσις ἀρετῆς ἢ κακίας). In any case, Plutarch's remarks at the beginning of *Alexander* are a clear statement of his purpose in composing the *Lives*. To this statement and to the phrase ἄχρηστος ἱστορία, more attention will be given later.

For now, it is useful to survey some meanings of «history» with which Plutarch was familiar. Herodotus, for example, whose work Plutarch knew well, thought of his endeavors as inquiry or research, and although ἱστορία involved examining witnesses and αὐτοψία or first hand investigation, it also involved recording the results of his research. The famous opening line: Ἡροδότου Ἀλικαρνήσσεος ἱστορίας ἀπόδειξις ἦδε probably means something like: «the results of Herodotus' inquiry (or research) are here set forth», and Plutarch quotes the line at *De exilio* 604F. Given Herodotus' description of his writings as ἱστορία, research and inquiry, it is no surprise that the word also came to mean a literary genre. For example, at *Rhetoric* 1360a 33-37, Aristotle states that «the histories of those writing about human deeds» (αἱ τῶν περὶ πράξεις γραφόντων ἱστορίαι) are useful for political discussions¹⁶. And a few centuries later, Cornelius Nepos with whose *De viris illustribus* Plutarch was familiar¹⁷, reports that Cato

was already an old man when he began to write a *historia* of which he left seven books. The first contains accomplishments of the Kings of the Roman people; the second and third, the origins of all states of Italy...

(*Cato* 3.3; see also *Att.* 10.3).

¹⁶ For Aristotle ἱστορία also involved investigations of natural phenomena, and he wrote his ἱστορίαι περὶ τῶν ζώων. Aristotle also called a description of an object's attributes ἱστορία and although this usage may be somewhat idiosyncratic, it shows that «history» continued to mean inquiry after the facts of a case irrespective of whether these involved natural phenomena, or past events, τὰ προγεγόνата, or what the Romans called *res gestae*. Moreover, as A. MOMIGLIANO observed in *The Development of Greek Biography*, Cambridge (MA) 1971, p. 13, some ancients saw a distinction between history and erudition, or between history, and what was called *archaeologia* and *philologia* (understood by the Romans as *antiquitates*). The basic distinction between these subjects was that history «dealt mainly with political and military events and was written in chronological order, whereas erudition dealt with almost anything else — from personal names to religious ceremonies — and preferred systematic survey to chronological order».

¹⁷ See the remarks of J. GEIGER, *Plutarch's 'Parallel Lives': the Choice of Heroes*, *Hermes* 109 (1091), p. 85-104 (reprinted in B. SCARDIGLI [ed.], *Essays* [n. 4], p. 165-190, esp. Pt. II on «Nepos, Plutarch, and the Subjects of the Roman Lives», p. 177ff.

For Nepos *historia* largely involved political events, the deeds of kings and the rise of cities, but *historia*, whatever its subjects, was a written account for Nepos and his contemporaries.

There remains, then, no doubt that Plutarch understood history as research or inquiry after the facts. He could also think of «history» as «story,» what is told or narrated. For example, Plutarch writes about what is «reported» concerning the gods, and discusses what the «mythographers relate» (οἱ μυθολογοῦντες ἱστοροῦσι) while ignoring the factuality of what is reported (*Quaestiones Romanae* 268D). And perhaps thinking of ἱστορία as story, Plutarch discusses in *Non posse suaviter vivi secundum Epicurum* (1092F–1095A) the pleasure that ἱστορία gives. He even suggests that the pleasure of fiction and poetry arise from their similarity to history in respect to truth. And when the «story» (ἱστορία) and its telling involves «no harm or pain, and to its splendid and great actions be added the power and charm of elegance», it gives great and abundant joy. As Glen Bowersock observed in *Fiction as History*:

There was much truth or falsehood in fiction as in history itself. Fiction must necessarily include not only overt works of the imagination, such as novels and Lucian's *True Stories*, but also the rewriting of the mythic and legendary past as part of the creation of a new and miraculous present¹⁸.

History could include mythical stories, and so in his *Theseus*, Plutarch writes about the difficulties of distinguishing between history based on facts and probable reasoning (1.1), and the need for purifying the fabulous or mythical (τὸ μυθῶδες), making it «submit to reason and take on the semblance of history» (ἱστορίας ὄψιν, 1.3).

«History» could also involve for Plutarch a catalogue of opinions and ideas, and at the beginning of *De virtute morali* (440E) he writes:

it is better, however, to run summarily through the opinions of the philosophers holding opposing views, not so much for the sake of inquiring into them (οὐχ ἱστορίας ἕνεκα) as that my own opinions may become clearer and more fairly established when those of the philosophers in question have been presented.

To be sure, this understanding of history as a factual account is not new. Doxographies or recordings of opinions go back at least to Aristotle, but what seems new is Plutarch's suggestion that such an account is «history.»

¹⁸ G.W. BOWERSOCK, *Fiction as History. Nero to Julian*, Berkeley 1994, p. 13.

In brief, by Plutarch's time, the meaning of ἱστορία was fairly broad. It referred not only to inquiry and research, but also to literature concerned with battles and great deeds. It might involve surveys of past opinions, or a detailed investigation of human and natural phenomena. Ἱστορία also meant a story, and stories were very much a part of historical writings. And, as Press observed, «what is important to a story is not that it be accurate, but that it be entertaining or edifying»¹⁹.

Certainly Plutarch's *Lives* are stories of famous Greek and Roman heroes, and from his ethical or moral perspective, they were intended to be *exempla* or paradigms for his often influential readers, e.g., Sosius Senecio, the consular friend of Trajan, to whom the *Lives* are addressed. While providing παραδείγματα τῶν βίων, Plutarch also expected his readers to become imitators μιμηταί of the «better lives» (see *Demetrius* 1,6). Even he himself tried to follow the better examples, and at the beginning of the paired *Lives of Timoleon and Aemilius Paulus*, Plutarch writes:

I began the writing of my *Lives* for the sake of others, but I find that I am continuing the work and delighting in it now for my own sake also, using history (ἱστορία) as a mirror, and endeavoring in a manner to fashion and adorn my life in *conformity with the virtues therein depicted*²⁰.

Plutarch goes on to state:

But in my own case, the study of history (ἱστορία) and the familiarity with it which my writing produces, enables me, since I always cherish in my soul the records of the noblest and most estimable characters, to repel and put far from me whatever base, malicious, or ignoble suggestion my enforced associations may intrude upon me, calmly and dispassionately turning my thoughts away from them to the fairest of my examples (παραδείγματα).

Not only does «history» involve research and narrative, but the stories told may encourage «imitation». Similar sentiments are expressed at the beginning of *Pericles* where Plutarch claims that our intellect (διάνοια) must be applied to objects which draw it toward its proper good (τὸ

¹⁹ G.A. PRESS, *op. cit.* (n. 12), p. 76. See also C.B.R. PELLING's valuable study of *Truth and Fiction in Plutarch's 'Lives'*, in D.A. RUSSELL (ed.), *Antonine Literature*, Oxford 1990, p. 19-52. In regard to truth, Pelling notes that Plutarch «does not always behave as we would, certainly; he tidies and improves, and in some cases he must have known he was being historically inaccurate. But the process has limits, and the untruthful tidying and improving is never very extensive» (p. 41).

²⁰ The italics are mine.

οἰκεῖον αὐτὴν ἀγαθόν, 1.3). Such objects, Plutarch goes on to mention, are to be found in virtuous deeds, and

these implant in those who search them out a great and zealous eagerness which leads them to imitation (μίμησιν)²¹.

And at *Pericles* 2.2, Plutarch remarks that

virtuous action straightway so disposes a man that he no sooner admires the works of virtue than he strives to emulate those who wrought them.

Similar sentiments are expressed in the *Moralia* where Plutarch states his belief that many lessons can be learned from the past. At 814B of *Praecepta gerendae republicae*, for example, he claims that by recounting the deeds of Greeks of former times, one can mould and temper character (ἡθιοποιεῖν καὶ σωφρονίζειν). Plutarch gives several instances: the decree of amnesty after the downfall of the Thirty Tyrants, Phrynicus' fine for his play on the sack of Miletus; the joy of the Theban people (*demos*) when Cassander restored order and its horror at a massacre in Argos. These and other examples show how citizens ought to behave.

The *Lives* were thus meant to be useful for developing and understanding character²². Plutarch's emphasis on character in the *Lives* is not, however, without philosophical antecedents. As Vincenzo Cilento observed, «the *Lives* are the daughters not of history, but of philosophy — above all the *Nicomachean Ethics*»²³. Plutarch's indebtedness to Aristotle's views on ἦθος have been much discussed by scholars, but this is not the occasion to review them. Suffice it to note that Plutarch shares Aristotle's conviction that a person's character or ἦθος reveals itself in πράξεις, actions or deeds, and in the management of πάθη, emotions or strong feelings, which have helped to form it. But character is not the only element in the *Lives*. For example, in his preface to the paired *Lives of Timoleon and Aemilius Paulus*, Plutarch remarks that chance or fortune (τύχη) so vied with character that it is uncertain whether their greatest achievements resulted from good luck, or from practical wisdom (φρονήσις). He also writes about the pair Demos-

²¹ On Plutarch's concept of imitation, see A. WARDMAN, *Plutarch's Lives*, London 1974, p. 21ff.

²² For an analysis of the concept of 'character' in Plutarch's *Lives*, *ibid.*, p. 105-152.

²³ Quoted by D.A. RUSSELL, *On Reading Plutarch's 'Lives'*, » *G&R* 13 (1966), p. 130-154 (reprinted in B. SCARDIGLI [ed.], *Essays* [n. 4], p. 74-94; see p. 81).

thenes and Cicero, stating at *Demosthenes* 3.5 that it cannot be decided whether nature (φύσις) made them more alike in character, or fortune (τύχη) in the conditions of their lives. Fortune (τύχη) plays a great role in Plutarch's thought, and deserves further attention when his reflections on the course of human events are considered.

In view of the previous observations, it is tempting to conclude that for Plutarch the difference between history and biography was that between a study of past events, and a study of human character. History has no concern with ethical judgments; biography does. Such conclusions would be quite wrong, especially since ancient Greek historians often moralized about the past. Polybius, for example, writes about the foolishness of those who, taking no precautions, allowed their enemies to trade in their own marketplace, even though they might acquire «such experience from history» (ἐκ τῆς ἱστορίας ... τὴν τοιαύτην ἐμπειρίαν, V 75.5-6). Other ancient authors expressed themselves even more directly about the value of history. For example, Dionysius of Halicarnassus wrote in his *Art of Rhetoric* (11.2):

And Plato says this too, that the poetic, by beautifying the many deeds of the ancients, educates those who are born later. For education (παιδεία) is the conjoining of oneself (ἑντευξίς) with character. And Thucydides seems to say this, speaking about history (περὶ ἱστορίας): that history is philosophy from examples (ὅτι καὶ ἱστορία φιλοσοφία ἐστὶν ἐκ παραδειγμάτων).

These words could well have been written by Plutarch, but a basic question remains: what was Plutarch's own concept of history, and how did it differ from biography?

Thus far it has been seen that «history» had different meanings for Plutarch and his contemporaries, but when not thinking of history as inquiry or research, Plutarch often regarded it as literature, works written about the deeds of famous individuals. In *Nicias*, for example, he relies on Thucydides and Philistus for their accounts of Nicias' deeds πράξεις, and at 345C of *De gloria Atheniensium*, probably a youthful declamation, Plutarch comments somewhat negatively about historical writings: «if you take away the men of action (τοὺς πράττοντας) you will have no men of letters (τοὺς γράφοντας)». And shortly thereafter at 345D, Plutarch remarks that if one omits the deeds of great individuals as recorded by Thucydides, this historian is longer on «the list of writers». Historians depend on heroes and significant events for their works, and without these, they have no subject matter. In a further depreciation of

historians, Plutarch likens them to goatherds or shepherds who view battles at a distance, report these to their communities, and expect the same honors given to those who fought in the battles (347D):

And indeed the compilers of history (οἱ συγγράφοντες) are, as it were reporters of great exploits who are gifted with the faculty of felicitous speech, and active success in their writing through the beauty and force of their narration; and to them those who first encountered and recorded the events are indebted for a pleasing retelling of them. We may be sure that such writers are lauded also merely through being remembered and read because of the men who won success; for the words do not create the deeds, but because of the deeds they are also deemed worth of being read.

And as previously noted, Plutarch's *Lives* are very much indebted to Greek and Roman historians. According to Alan Wardman, «over half the biographer's capital has been borrowed from those whose prime interest was in historical writing»²⁴. And in much of this historical writing, character appears as largely incidental to other concerns. As Ernesto Valgiglio remarked, «la grande storia fa, sì, anche emergere il carattere dell'uomo, ma in linea subordinata e marginale; in linea primaria stanno le πράξεις in riferimento alle nazioni, ai popoli, agli stati, e non in relazione agli individui che sono oggetto specifico della biografia»²⁵. Xenophon, for example, whom Plutarch much admired, wrote about Clearchus and Menon in his *Anabasis*, and yet his discussion of Menon's character does not appear in the main narrative, but in what Wardman called «a kind of moral appendix»²⁶. And however much interest later historians such as Polybius and Dionysius of Halicarnassus may have had in character, they tended to treat it incidentally. Moreover, when at *Alexander* 1.2 Plutarch mentions «slight» things like phrases or jests as more revelatory of character than battles or sieges, he has a focus quite unlike that of many ancient historians²⁷. A good example of a

²⁴ A. WARDMAN, *op. cit.* (n. 21), p. 3.

²⁵ E. VALGIGLIO, *Ἱστορία e βίος in Plutarco, Orpheus* 8 (1987), p. 54-55. A. MOMIGLIANO, *op. cit.* (n. 16), p. 39, earlier expressed a similar view: «Greek historians were concerned with political and military events. Their subject matter was states, not individuals».

²⁶ A. WARDMAN, *op. cit.* (n. 20), p. 6

²⁷ Interest in anecdotes can be traced back to Aristotle and his pupils. A. MOMIGLIANO, *op. cit.* (n. 16), p. 76, remarks: «I suspect we owe to Aristoxenus the notion that a good biography is full of good anecdotes». Plutarch's own interest in anecdotes has been much discussed. See, for example, A. WARDMAN, *op. cit.* (n. 20), p. 7, to whose discussion I am much indebted.

«slight» thing, a minor event, is the story of Timocleia, a Theban woman, found in *Alexander* 13. During the siege of Thebes, she was assaulted by a Macedonian soldier whom she killed in retaliation. When questioned by Alexander, she stated that she was the sister of Theagenes who organized the troops in fighting against Philip at the battle of Chaironeia! The incident reveals, according to Plutarch, the woman's virtue (ἀρετή) and her boldness of speech (παρρησία). And instead of treating her as an enemy, Alexander admired her courage in telling him what she had done. Alexander's response to the woman's virtue is thus narrated as a response to his own virtue, and the incident occupies about half of the space Plutarch devotes to Thebes' fall. It shows, in brief, that what was not especially significant for the historian could be for the biographer.

To be sure, Plutarch does not fill his *Lives* with narrations of «slight» things or minor events. Often he seems to follow emphases already found in his historical sources. For example, his *Aristides* is mainly concerned with this hero's involvement in the battle of Plataea, and *Galba* is not so much a biography or «life» as an account of episodes involving the emperor's brief reign and sudden downfall, episodes which might normally attract historians. And even though Plutarch distances himself from historiography, he shows some closeness to past historians. For example, he uses digressions which allowed historians such as Herodotus some scope for straying from their main subjects. And so in *Coriolanus* 11, Plutarch discourses on the moral significance of proper names, and concludes that «this topic would be more fittingly discussed elsewhere». Such a remark suggests that Plutarch is still influenced by historical writing, and there are other passages in the *Lives* such as *Dion* 21 where Plutarch's digressions perhaps show even more that he relates his story like an historian.

In general, contrary to Plutarch's statement in the *Alexander* passage quoted earlier, his *Lives* seem much closer to historiography than is sometimes acknowledged. Historical research and writing may well be the «mother of biography,» and at the beginning of *Theseus*, Plutarch comments on history's importance, and its connections with biography:

Just as geographers, O Sosius Senecio, crowd on to the outer edges of their maps the parts of the earth which elude their knowledge, with explanatory notes... so in the writing of my Parallel Lives, now that I have traversed those periods of time which are accessible to probable reasoning (εἰκότι λόγῳ) and which afford basis for a history dealing

with facts (βάσιμον ἱστορία πραγμάτων ἐχομένη, I might well say of the earlier periods: «what lies beyond is full of marvels and unreality, a land of poets and fabulists, of doubt and obscurity».

Plutarch goes on to remark:

may I therefore succeed in purifying Fable (τὸ μυθῶδες) making her submit to reason and take on the semblance of History. But where she obstinately disdains to make herself credible, and refuses to admit any element of probability (τὸ εἰκός), I shall pray for kindly readers, and such as receive with indulgence the tales of antiquity (ἀρχαιολογίαν).

Reflection on these passages strongly suggests that the criteria for history and historiography, the probable (τὸ εἰκός) and a firm basis in «facts» (βάσιμος πραγμάτων)²⁸, are also the criteria for Plutarch's *Lives*. The limits of historical biography are like those of geography: beyond a certain point geographical research cannot go, and this is true of history and biography as well. In other words, when writing his *Lives* Plutarch tried to adhere to the criteria used in historical writing. To be sure, the boundaries between biography and historiography are not always easy to define. As John Moles observed in his study of *Cicero*²⁹, Plutarch weighs historical matters by appeal to his sources, and shows knowledge of Roman political life near the end of the Republic. And in the *Cicero*, *Theseus*, and other *Lives*, biography is put within the realm of history. And, according to the opening remarks of *Theseus*, Plutarch even claims that the fabulous or mythical (τὸ μυθῶδες) when tied to reason, is able to assume the semblance of history (ἱστορίας ὄψιν, *Theseus* 1).

Moreover, in *Theseus* and other *Lives*, Plutarch observes a practice common among ancient historians, that is, choosing between divergent, or even contradictory accounts of the same events by appealing to probability. He also seems to distinguish between mythical and historical periods, and so Theseus and Romulus are put, for example, in the mythical period. And in *Romulus* 2-3 he contrasts at some length the mythical version of Romulus' birth with the more credible stories of Diocles

²⁸ For further discussion of the probable, see A. WARDMAN, *op. cit.* (n. 20), p. 161-168. I am much indebted to Wardman's discussion. See also A.G. NIKOLAIDIS's valuable comments on Plutarch's view of probability in his *Plutarch's Criteria for Judging his Historical Sources*, in C. SCHRADER – V. RAMON – J. VELA (eds.), *Plutarco y la Historia. Actas del V Simposio español sobre Plutarco*, Zaragoza 1997, p. 336-339.

²⁹ J.L. MOLES, *op. cit.* (n. 12), p. 34.

and Fabius Pictor. According to the mythical version, Tarchetius, a cruel king of Alba Longa, found a phallus on the central hearth of his palace. An oracle then prophesied that a virgin would have intercourse with the object, and give birth to a very virtuous child. But Tarchetius' daughter refused the phallus, and a maid took her place. She then bore twins who were left to die by a river where they were found by a she-wolf. She nurtured them until their rescue by a herdsman, and on reaching maturity, they killed Tarchetius. But a more likely or probable version, according to Plutarch, is the story of Amulius and Numitor (with some variants): in this version, Amulius wanted to keep his family in power, and so tried to prevent Numitor's daughter, Rhea Silvia, from marrying. And yet she gave birth to twins who were rescued after their exposure. This account seems more credible to Plutarch because it excludes the improbability of intercourse with the phallus, and puts Romulus' birth in the context of Graeco-Roman politics. But Plutarch does not wholly explain what he found improbable about the story of the phallus, and the *Romulus* passages do raise some questions about Plutarch's understanding of probability.

Suffice it to observe that Plutarch often reports divergent opinions about his sources without taking sides. And in some instances where he does choose sides, he seems guided by considerations about whether a story is in keeping with someone's political activity, or whether it conforms to what is generally known of human behavior. Sometimes, as in *Numa* 4 where there is a complicated discussion of the story that Numa had intercourse with a *daimon* called Egeria, Plutarch makes it clear that such a seemingly improbable tale can be accommodated to his views about virtue (ἀρετή), and the gods' attitude to mortals who have virtue. In other words, whether something happened or not «can be decided by whether it illustrates a philosophical truth or not»³⁰, and certainly in the *Lives* Plutarch's Platonic convictions are very much in evidence³¹.

An especially important Platonic concept for Plutarch was that of μίμησις, or imitation. As noted previously, Plutarch wrote his *Lives* for the purpose of offering moral lessons to his readers and to himself. The *Lives* provide paradigms for behavior, and to review a passage cited earlier, the preface to *Pericles* (1-2) very much shows Plutarch's emphasis

³⁰ A. WARDMAN, *op. cit.* (n. 20), p. 165.

³¹ See especially K. ZIEGLER's discussion of the goal of Plutarch's biographies, *RE*. XXI (1951), col. 904. Plutarch's Platonism in both the *Lives* and *Moralia* has long been recognized.

on imitation: we must «bring our minds to spectacles that tempt them to their own proper good by way of enjoyment. We find this in the actions of virtue». These actions produce admiration and enthusiasm which result in imitation. Yet, according to Plutarch, the pleasure or delight in looking at sculpture or reading lyric poetry does not bring about imitation. Virtue, however,

instantly produces by her actions a frame of mind in which the deed is admired and the doer rivaled at one and the same moment... Nobility (τὸ καλόν) exercises an active attraction and immediately creates an active impulse, but producing a settled moral choice (προαίρεσις) from the simple historical knowledge of the action. This is why I have made up my mind to spend my time writing biographies...

(D.A. Russell's translation)³²

At *Quomodo adolescens poetas audire debeat* 26A, Plutarch make similar claims for poetry which is an «imitation of characters and lives (μίμησις ἡθῶν καὶ βίων), and of individuals who are not perfect or flawless in all respects». But even though pervaded «by emotions, false opinions, and various forms of ignorance», through inborn goodness (εὐφυΐαν), they change «their ways for the better». In brief, for Plutarch, good Platonist that he was, poetry and other forms of «imitation» such as historical and biographical writings, exercised strong psychological effects on their readers, and could be used for educational purposes, especially for moral improvement.

History and poetry both involve imitation, and it is here worthwhile to comment on Plutarch's views about «tragic history»³³. Suffice it to note that tragic poetry is not well regarded by Plutarch, and he writes disparagingly about it both in the *Lives* and *Moralia*. Tragedy's content is false, and its plots are taken from fiction, not real life; the actors lie by pretending to be persons other than they really are (see *Quomodo adolescens poetas audire debeat* 15D ff.). Plutarch's harsh judgments about tragedy in general, also extend to what he calls «tragic history». At *Demosthenes* 21.2, for example, he accuses Theopompus of writing tragic history by misrepresenting public opinion at Athens after the battle of Chaironeia in 338 BC when Alexander's victory ended Demosthenes' policy of resistance. Theopompus depicted the Athenian *demos*

³² D.A. RUSSELL, *op. cit.* (n. 5), p. 100-101.

³³ My comments on tragic history are indebted to A. WARDMAN, *op. cit.* (n. 20), p. 168-179, and to J.M. MOSSMAN, *Tragedy and Epic in Plutarch's 'Alexander'*, *JHS* 108 (1988), p. 83-93 (reprinted in B. SCARDIGLI [ed.], *Essays* [n. 4], p. 209-228).

as humiliated, and wrote «tragically» (τραγωδεῖ) about it, an account which was probably to support Theopompus' hostile views about Demosthenes. But, according to Plutarch, the people did not turn against Demosthenes: they asked him to speak in honor of those who died, and showed their adherence to Demosthenes' policy even though it failed. Theopompus, in other words, did not present an accurate or true account, and similar accusations are made about Duris at *Pericles* 27.2 where Duris claims that Pericles was guilty of atrocities against the people of Samos, a claim which Plutarch rejects³⁴.

In brief, tragic history was unreliable, and seems to have involved an exaggerated pathos. Like tragedy, it had many false views, and perhaps its pathos and theatricality came to resemble scenes from Greek tragedies. But as Judith Mossman has well argued, a distinction needs to be made between the sensationalism of tragic history and the «sustained tragic patterning and imagery which is perfectly respectable feature of both biography and history»³⁵. As Mossman observed, Plutarch chose to characterize some of his subjects and their actions in the *Lives* by using tragic imagery, and in *Alexander* Plutarch especially used «tragic colouring to delineate the darker side of Alexander's character»³⁶.

Plutarch thus seems to have borrowed from the historians of the tragic. They preferred the dramatic aspects, unfortunate incidents and strong emotions (πάθη), to the history of political events or what was known as πραγματική ἱστορία, a concept with which Plutarch was also familiar. At *Galba* 2.5, for example, he states that accurate accounts of events belong to «pragmatic history», and goes on to say that he must not omit the deeds and unfortunate incidents (ἔργα καὶ πάθη) of the Caesars. In other words, with knowledge of Polybius (I 2.8), Plutarch understands pragmatic history as dealing with πράγματα and πράξεις. Biography, however, deals with παθή, or what Valgiglio rendered as «sventure personali»³⁷.

In brief, Plutarch's distinctions between pragmatic and tragic histories are further evidence that he gave thought to the nature of history and his-

³⁴ Theopompus has recently received much scholarly attention. See M.A. FLOWER, *Theopompus of Chios. History and Rhetoric in the Fourth Century B.C.*, Oxford 1994, and the earlier study of G.S. SHRIMPTON, *Theopompus the Historian*, Montreal 1991.

³⁵ J.M. MOSSMAN in B. SCARDIGLI (ed.), *Essays* (n. 4), p. 212.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 213.

³⁷ For brief discussion of «pragmatic history» and a bibliography, see B. SCARDIGLI (ed.), *Essays* (n. 4), p. 16. See also E. VALGIGLIO's remarks on pragmatic history in *Orpheus* 8 (1987), p. 87.

toriography. His concern with historiography is especially clear from his often discussed *On the Malice of Herodotus*. Near its beginning, Plutarch presents characteristics of an author's malice (855B f.), well summarized by Russell. The malicious historian uses (1) «needlessly pejorative terms»; (2) gives irrelevant and discreditable facts even when creditable ones are available; (3) «damns with faint praise»; (4) chooses the less creditable of alternative accounts; (5) assigns less reputable motives when others are possible; (6) disparages achievements, either assigning them to luck, or minimizing their importance; (7) denounces a «discreditable version, but records it all the same»; (8) mixes praise and blame so «as to cast doubt even on the praise»³⁸. To be sure, Christopher Pelling has shown that Plutarch does not always avoid these characteristics in some of his own *Lives*. According to Pelling, the *Cato minor* and *Anthony*, for example, flout the characteristics of *On the Malice of Herodotus*, but then «the *Lives* are sometimes a little removed from historiography, sometimes closer; and the *De malignitate* was giving precepts for historians»³⁹. To be sure, calling attention to these characteristics in another author was a rhetorical technique («innuendo and disparagement»), and a part of ancient historiography. But, according to Russell, Plutarch often «opposes and refutes» this malicious tendency in the «controversies and *problemata*» included in his *Lives*. For Russell, Plutarch's views on how to write biography, or biographical history, are well expressed at *Cimon* 2. 4-5:

Since it is difficult, or rather perhaps impossible to display a man's life as pure and blameless, we should fill out the truth to give a likeness where the good points lie, but regard the errors and follies with which emotion or political necessity sullies virtue rather than displays of viciousness, and therefore not make any special effort to draw attention to them in record. Our attitude should be one of modest shame on behalf of human nature, which never produces unmixed good or a character of undisputed excellence.

(D.A. Russell's translation)⁴⁰

Separating Plutarch's views of history and «lives» (biography) from one another, has not been easy. So far the discussion has shown the complexity of Plutarch's views on history. For him, history involved inquiry and research, written works concerned with great deeds and past

³⁸ D.A. RUSSELL, *op. cit.* (n. 5), p. 61.

³⁹ C.B.R. PELLING, *art. cit.* (n. 19), p. 35.

⁴⁰ D.A. RUSSELL, *op. cit.* (n. 5), p. 61-62.

events, and even the mythical. Narrative or story was very much a basis for what the ancients considered history, and so it is not surprising to find Plutarch discussing criteria for what he regarded as acceptable narrative, e.g. probability and a lack of malice. But, in addition to his interest in historiography, did Plutarch perceive any pattern in past events (προγεγόνота)? Was history or historical biography merely research into the past, great deeds and battles, and the character which was revealed in them? Although the history of philosophy seems to be very much a modern construct, it is still worth inquiring about Plutarch's views on the course of history. Did he see, for example, any forces or non-human powers operative in the world and in past events? Did Plutarch, in other words, have a philosophy of history?

In *In Mist Apparelled*, Frederick Brenk noted that Plutarch sometimes writes as though he believed in what might be considered a cyclic theory of history. At *Brutus* 31.7, for instance, he remarks: «so then the Xanthians, after long lapse of time, as though fulfilling a period set by fate (εἰμαρμένην) had the boldness to renew the calamity of their ancestors». But for Brenk this remark simply refers to their self-destruction as the Persians drew near (see Herodotus I 176), and does not show that Plutarch had a cyclical theory of history⁴¹. And as Brenk and other scholars observed, chance or τύχη, not any cosmic cycle, play an important role in history. Indeed, Simon Swain has argued that Plutarch believed that the past was largely predetermined, and that Rome's rise to power and continuing success, were due to providence⁴². Hence, before concluding investigation of Plutarch's concept of history, some reflection on his views of chance and providence seems in order.

Earlier it was noted that Plutarch uses the phrase ἄχρηστος ἱστορία at *Nicias* 1.5. According to Ziegler, the phrase meant «useless historical ballast» («unnützen geschichtlichen Ballast»), and he may be correct in his translation of the phrase⁴³. But what useless history did Plutarch have in mind? In an unpublished study of Plutarchan biography, Hubert Martin Jr. has suggested that Plutarch discerned two kinds or «types» of history: one generated by human deeds, and another in which human

⁴¹ F.E. BRENK, *In Mist Apparelled. Religious Themes in Plutarch's Moralia and Lives*, Leiden 1977, p. 168f.

⁴² I am indebted to S. SWAIN's study, *Plutarch, Chance, Providence, and History*, *AJPh* 110 (1989), p. 272-302.

⁴³ K. ZIEGLER, in *RE*. XXI (1951), col. 903.

beings had no control⁴⁴. This second kind of history only reported the circumstances in which human beings performed their deeds, circumstances such as their family status or the political milieu in which they lived. And this kind of history Plutarch attributed to a force he called τύχη, chance or fortune. Although Plutarch nowhere specifically states his belief in these two kinds of history, at *Timoleon* 1.6 ff., for example, he remarks that in the case of Timoleon and Aemilius chance so vied with character that it is unclear whether their greatest accomplishments were the result of good fortune, or of their practical wisdom. In other paired lives such as *Demosthenes* and *Cicero* or *Phocion* and *Cato the Younger*, Plutarch presents the virtues and virtuous deeds of his heroes against the circumstances that chance forces on them. Given that Plutarch wrote his *Lives* primarily from a moral perspective, it is likely, according to Martin, that by ἄχρηστος ἱστορία, he meant history that was generated by τύχη. This history was amoral, and had no meaning or value except for serving to clarify the circumstances in which human beings accomplished their deeds, deeds which manifested their virtues and vices.

Martin's interpretation of Plutarch's «useless history» draws attention to τύχη, though this concept is more complex than he perhaps indicates. As Swain has shown, τύχη is often made into a guiding force, and in contexts where God or providence might be expected. In the *Lives*, for example, there are many passages where Plutarch begins by referring to τύχη and ends by writing about a *daimon* which he usually thought of as some kind of divine being under God's control. And for Plutarch, the involvement of superhuman power in human lives often functions as a moral factor in how a person fares in particular circumstances. Returning briefly to *Timoleon-Aemilius*: in the life of Aemilius, τύχη means something more than fortune. His good fortune is the result of divine favor (cf. 12.1, εὐτυχία and δαίμων, and 24.4, θειότης and τύχη). But if τύχη and the divine are closely connected, and if τύχη refers to the course of providence at *Rom.* 8.9, *Tim.* 16.10, and *Phil.* 17.2, and elsewhere, it was an easy step for Plutarch to find God operative in the world. And Swain provides numerous examples of how Plutarch in his *Lives* attributes significant changes in the past to divine power, e.g. the

⁴⁴ I am indebted to Hubert MARTIN, Jr. for sharing with me an unpublished lecture on *Plutarch and Pericles*, given as part of a National Endowment for the Humanities seminar on Periclean Athens in the summer of 1991. His remarks appear on p. 17 of the *Plutarch and Pericles* lecture.

liberation of Sicily, Greece's loss of freedom, and Rome's conquest of the world. Divine power whether conceived of as chance, fortune, or providence (and τύχη meant all three) led to the establishment of the principate, and to Rome's domination of the world. Indeed, Rome was for Plutarch an instrument of God's power, and in *De fortuna Romanorum*, the Roman empire is a «cosmos of peace» (317C).

In sum, Plutarch had philosophical views about the past, and he saw providence at work in significant events of human history. Clearly his *Lives* (and *Moralia*) do not repeat what was found in «old books.» History for him involved research and reliance on written narratives of past deeds. Sometimes he went beyond his literary sources, and in the *Lives* he is especially interested in the deeds of his heroes as manifestations of virtue and vice. Plutarch's «lives», despite his disclaimer in *Alexander* I, have similarities to «histories». But he was critical of Greek and Roman histories, especially those which focused only on deeds or the circumstances in which they were performed. Historians, moreover, needed to avoid malice or personal bias, and to deal with what was probable and accurate. Above all, history was meant to be viewed from a moral perspective, and for Plutarch this was ultimately a Platonic perspective⁴⁵.

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⁴⁵ Versions of this paper were read at the University of Utrecht and the University of Crete. I am especially indebted to Dr. Jeroen Bons for his critique.

ΧΡΗΣΘΑΙ ΑΣΚΕΠΤΟΤΕΡΟΝ ΕΑΥΤΩΙ / NULLO VIVERE CONSILIO: EINE LEBENSFORM UND IHR ECHO

1. PLUTARCH UND DAS TRADITIONELLE URTEIL ÜBER DAS PLANLOSE LEBEN

Plutarch will seinen in erzieherischer Absicht verfaßten Biographien von exemplarischen Staatsmännern und Feldherren eine oder zwei Syzygien von Lebensbeschreibungen untüchtiger Personen gegenüberstellen, um den Leser in die Lage zu versetzen, auch an der falschen Lebenseinstellung, am Fehlverhalten und am Scheitern wirkungsreicher Männer zu lernen, was ein sinnvoll verbrachtes, tüchtiges Leben ist. Er wählt als Beispiele verfehlter Lebensläufe den des Demetrios Poliorketes und den des Antonius.

Demetrios und Antonius sind nach der Einleitung des Vitenpaares dadurch charakterisiert, daß sie allzu planlos dahingelebt haben (κεχρημένων ἀσκεπτότερον αὐτοῖς) und daß sie sich als Inhaber hoher Positionen, in denen sie große Macht hatten, notorisch schlecht verhalten haben (γεγονότων ἐν ἐξουσίαις καὶ πράγμασι μεγάλοις ἐπιφανῶν εἰς κακίαν)¹. Χρῆσθαι ἑαυτῷ, mit einem partizipialen Prädikatsnomen oder einem Adverb verbunden, ist eine offenbar speziell von Plutarch geschätzte, sonst seltenere Formulierung und bedeutet nicht viel mehr als «sein», «sich verhalten» oder «leben». So heißt es *Nic.* 17.3 οὐδ' ὑγιαίνουντι χρώμενος ἑαυτῷ («er war nicht einmal gesund, er erfreute sich nicht einmal guter Gesundheit») und *Alex.* 45.6 ὁμῶς οὐκ ἐπαύετο χρώμενος ἑαυτῷ πρὸς τοὺς κινδύνους ἀφειδῶς («dennoch hörte er nicht auf, sich allen Gefahren aufopferungsvoll auszusetzen»). Ἀσκεπτῶς bedeutet soviel wie ὅπως ἂν τύχηι, «aufs Geratewohl», «planlos», «drauflos»; der Komparativ ἀσκεπτότερον wäre dann «allzu planlos» oder «ziemlich planlos». Inhaltlich können diese beiden Formulierungen auf dasselbe hinauslaufen; Plutarch meint aber wohl «allzu planlos».

Das Fehlverhalten der beiden Personen faßt Plutarch selbst so zusammen: «Im gleichen Maße waren beide dem Geschlechtsgenuß und dem

¹ *Demetr.* 1.5.

Trinken ergeben, hatten Soldatenmanieren, waren großspurig im Schenken, lebten verschwenderisch, taten rücksichtslos, was sie wollten...»². Es sind also, wenn man die Platonische Anthropologie zugrunde legt, im wesentlichen zwei Vorwürfe, die Plutarch ihnen zu machen hat: sie unterliegen den charakteristischen Begierden des ἐπιθυμητικόν und leben bestimmte schlechte Tendenzen des θυμοειδές aus.

Was insbesondere Demetrios angeht, so läßt sich aus der Vita auch ein beachtlicher Katalog von Charakterzügen zusammenstellen, die in Plutarchs Sinn gut sind und vielen anderen Helden abgehen: die den Demetrios kennzeichnende Liebe zu seinem Vater, seine Freundestreue, seine Gelassenheit im Unglück, sein nicht zu brechender Optimismus, seine Begabung als Feldherr und Ingenieur und sein persönlicher Mut. Und es gibt auf der anderen Seite genug Helden, die ihre Triebe nicht hinreichend kontrollieren konnten; man denke nur an Alexander, dem man im übrigen Soldatenmanieren auch nicht absprechen kann. Plutarchs Aufzählung schlechter Charakterzüge kann also nicht schon an sich sein negatives Urteil rechtfertigen. Alexander muß etwas auszeichnen, was Demetrios nicht besitzt, der Mangel im Charakter des Demetrios muß also tiefer liegen³. Dieser Mangel besteht in seiner fehlenden Souveränität.

Alexander ist mehr als ein ἐρωτικός, ποτικός und στρατιωτικός; er versagt immer wieder, ist aber im großen und ganzen Herr seiner Taten. Demetrios ist dies ganz und gar nicht; Schicksal und Umwelt nötigen ihm ständig ihre Regeln oder besser ihre Regellosigkeit auf, und sein Lebensweg ist dargestellt als ein unkontrolliertes Hin und Her. Typisch die folgende Begebenheit: Er hört, daß sich eine bekannte Schönheit in Patrai aufhält, läßt sein Heer in Megara stehen und reitet, nur von wenigen εὔζωνοι begleitet, dorthin. Es kommt zum Schäferstündchen in einem Zelt, das sich, weil die Begleiter nichts merken sollen, an einem abgelegeneren Ort befindet. Da tauchen plötzlich die Feinde auf und versuchen, den gegnerischen Feldherrn gefangenzunehmen. Der kommt mit knapper Not davon, gerade noch, und das ist für das Bild dieses Mannes nicht unwesentlich, mit einem kurzen Soldatenmäntelchen (χαμύδιον) bekleidet, «fast, seiner Unbeherrschtheit wegen, auf die schimpflichste Art und Weise in Gefangenschaft geraten»⁴.

² *Demetr.* 1.8.

³ Für J. GRIFFIN, *Properius and Antony*, *JRS* 67 (1977), S. 21, sind Alexander, Demetrios, Sulla, Caesar bzw. das, was über sie gesagt wurde, in der Zeit der letzten Bürgerkriege Modelle für Antonius. Das mag so sein. Plutarch jedenfalls urteilt anders.

⁴ *Demetr.* 9,5-7.

Die charakterlichen Nachteile des Antonius weichen nicht wesentlich von denen des Demetrius ab, ebenso wenig wie seine sympathischen Seiten. Bei Antonius tritt nur sehr bald das Verhältnis zu Kleopatra in den Vordergrund der Schilderung. Diese Liebe habe viele ihn ihm schlummernde Leidenschaften geweckt; wenn noch etwas Starkes und Gutes in ihm gesteckt habe, das ihn hätte auf die richtige Bahn bringen können, so sei dies nun zusätzlich zum Schwinden gebracht und verdorben worden⁵. Antonius ist *tatsächlich* das, was Merkur dem an Dido hängenden Aeneas nur aus erzieherischen Gründen vorwirft, ein *uxorius* (*Aen.* IV 266). Auch dieser Fall hat seine bezeichnende Anekdote: Während der Schlacht bei Actium läßt Kleopatra ohne verständlichen Grund ihre Schiffe plötzlich abdrehen und Kurs auf Ägypten nehmen. Antonius sieht das, läßt sofort seine Leute und seine Sache im Stich, steigt in eine Pentere und folgt der Frau, «die sich schon aufgegeben hatte und ihm nun ebenfalls den Untergang brachte». Plutarch kommentiert:

Hier machte Antonius ganz deutlich, daß das, was ihn leitete, nicht das Konzept eines Feldherrn oder auch nur ein Mannes, ja, daß es sogar nicht einmal ein unabhängig gefaßter Plan war, sondern daß er — wie einer einmal im Scherz gesagt habe, die Seele eines Verliebten lebe in einem fremden Körper — von dieser Frau mitgezogen wurde, als sei er mit ihr zusammengewachsen und könne sich nicht selbständig bewegen⁶.

Hier ist das *χρῆσθαι ἀσκεπτότερον ἑαυτῷ* als fehlende Selbständigkeit, als Marionettenhaftigkeit, erläutert; der Unterschied zu Demetrius besteht fortan darin, daß dieser die Marionette der Umstände und *vieler* Personen ist — u.a., aber sein Wesen nicht bestimmend, auch der Hetäre Lamia —, Antonius aber, der zunächst kein anderes Bild als sein griechisches Pendant abgibt, in die Abhängigkeit einer einzigen anderen Person, ja, einer Frau gerät: «Frau» ist hier zweifellos herabsetzend gebraucht und suggeriert, anders als die auffallend vielen Stellen, an denen Plutarch seinen Respekt vor Frauen erkennen läßt, das Vorurteil, daß Frauen impulsiv sind und nie richtig nachdenken — *χρῶνται ἀσκεπτότερον ἑαυταῖς*. Das planlose Daherleben in Alexandria — schon vor der Schlacht von Actium — wird besonders veranschaulicht durch das, was ein Arzt namens Philotas Plutarchs Großvater erzählt hat. Der Arzt hatte die Bekanntschaft eines der königlichen Köche gemacht und ließ sich eines Tages in die Hofküche führen. Dort sah er nicht

⁵ *Anton.* 25.1.

⁶ *Anton.* 66.7.

weniger als acht Wildschweine braten. Auf seine erstaunte Frage nach dem Grund für diese große Zahl wurde er belehrt, das liege nicht an der Zahl der Gäste, es seien vielmehr nur zwölf angemeldet. Antonius indessen bestimme den Zeitpunkt zum Auftragen je nach Laune; man müsse also immer viele Mahlzeiten bereit halten, denn es sei ja nie sicher, wann es soweit sei⁷.

Es bedarf keiner Frage, daß planloses Daherleben und insbesondere das Leben nach dem Diktat einer Frau, die selbst planlos daherlebt, von der gesamten philosophischen Ethik der Antike einhellig verurteilt wird. Stets wird Selbstkontrolle verlangt. Das versteht sich von selbst für jede der von Sokrates ausgehenden λόγος-Ethiken, also nicht zuletzt für Kyniker und Stoa, gilt aber nicht minder für die Epikureer, für die, was oft aus polemischen oder anderen Gründen mißdeutet wird, ἡδονή bzw. ἀλυσία nicht Prinzip, sondern τέλος ist. Über die Wahl der Mittel, zur ἡδονή zu kommen, über den Zeitpunkt, über Fragen des Ortes, der Gesellschaft usw. entscheidet der λόγος⁸. Für die vorphilosophische und keinesfalls mit dem Einsetzen philosophischer Ethik obsolet werdende Standesethik der höheren Schichten — man könnte, bezogen auf die nachisokrateische Zeit, auch vom Verhaltenskodex der «Rhetorik» im Unterschied zu dem der Philosophie sprechen — ist planloses Daherleben ebenso ausgeschlossen⁹. Maßstab ist hier allerdings nicht ein allgemeingültiger Kalkül, sondern der rechte Geschmack, der Takt, mit dem der Handelnde steht oder fällt, von den Theoretikern dieser Lebensform gern mit Faktoren wie φύσις, σπουδαῖον εἶναι o.ä. verbunden¹⁰.

Demetrius und Antonius selbst können, der erstere allerdings erst kurz vor seinem Tode, zu ihrem von Plutarch als ungehörig angesehenen Leben indirekt, aber doch deutlich, Stellung nehmen. Die beiden Stellungnahmen unterscheiden sich beträchtlich. Nur Antonius und Kleopatra scheinen wirklich den allgemeinen Vorstellungen von einem würdigen Verhalten die Stirn bieten zu wollen, Demetrius könnte in einem

⁷ Anton. 28.3-6.

⁸ In Epikurs Brief an Menoikeus, §132, heißt es: «An allem Anfang aber steht die Vernunft, unser größtes Gut. Aus ihr ergeben sich alle übrigen Tugenden von selbst, ja, sie ist sogar wertvoller als das Philosophieren, weil sie uns lehrt, daß in Freude (ἡδονή) zu leben unmöglich ist, ohne daß man ein vernünftiges, sittlich hochstehendes und gerechtes Leben führt, daß es umgekehrt aber auch unmöglich ist, ein vernünftiges, sittlich hochstehendes und gerechtes Leben zu führen, ohne in Freude (ἡδονή) zu leben».

⁹ Vgl. Isokrates, *Panathenaikos* 30-32.

¹⁰ Vgl. dazu H. WILMS, *Techne und Paideia bei Xenophon und Isokrates*, Stuttgart-Leipzig 1995, S. 26-46; 208 ff.

gewissen Grade zu Normen konvertiert sein, die in der philosophischen Ethik anerkannt werden konnten. In Gefangenschaft geraten, wird er immer träger, bis er seine Zeit fast nur noch mit Trinken und Würfelspiel tots schlägt. Plutarch sieht zwei Möglichkeiten, dies Verhalten zu begründen: Demetrius habe sich entweder durch ständige Trunkenheit von seiner Lage ablenken wollen oder er habe eingesehen, daß ihm ja gerade dies Leben seit je Wunschtraum gewesen sei und daß er nur, um so zu leben, alle seine wirren Unternehmungen veranstaltet habe. Darauf folgt ein bei Plutarch überraschendes, positives Urteil über ein der Lust gewidmetes Leben: Nur um ein solches Leben gehe es doch den schlechten Königen, die aber auf dem falschen Wege seien, nicht so sehr, weil sie Schwelgerei und Sinnenfreude dem tüchtigen Wirken und dem Streben nach dem Edlen vorzögen, sondern weil sie noch nicht einmal richtig zu schwelgen und ihrer Lust zu leben verstünden¹¹. Dies Urteil steht beim Epikurverächter Plutarch nicht einmal vereinzelt, sondern es wiederholt sich in ausführlicherer Form in der Pyrrhusvita (Kap. 14.4-13). Es läßt sich heraushören, daß Plutarch noch eine Art Respekt vor einem Leben hat, das zwar nichts als Lust will, diese aber wenigstens zu erreichen versteht und damit eine Spur von Planung erkennen läßt, und daß es also wirklich die Planlosigkeit ist, die er verabscheut.

Antonius und Kleopatra halten es anders. Sie bilden eine Gemeinschaft, der sie einen Namen und damit ein Programm geben: Ἀμμητόβοι. Zur Erläuterung der Lebensweise eben dieses Vereins erzählt Plutarch die Geschichte vom Arzt Philotas und seinem Gespräch mit dem Hofkoch¹². Die «Unnachahmlich Lebenden» lebten unnachahmlich verschwenderisch und unnachahmlich regellos. Planlosigkeit scheint einziges Gesetz gewesen zu sein. Im Selbstverständnis der beiden führenden Mitglieder dokumentierte diese Planlosigkeit aber alles andere als Torheit und Hilflosigkeit wie im Falle der «schlechten Könige», von denen Plutarch in der Demetriusvita spricht, sondern im Gegenteil höchste Souveränität. Dies zeigt sich besonders dann, wenn sie ihren Club am Ende ihrer Tage in Συναποθανούμενοι umbenennen und in ununterbrochenen Gelagen einen respektablen Humor an den Tag legen, indem sie nämlich ihr Scheitern amüsant nehmen¹³.

Mag sich dies in den Augen von Kleopatra und Antonius selbst so verhalten haben — für Plutarch findet sich in ihrem Leben keine Souverä-

¹¹ *Demetr.* 52.4.

¹² *Anton.* 28.3-6.

¹³ *Anton.* 71.4f.

nität. Nicht nur in der entscheidenden Situation bei Actium, auch vorher während des Partherfeldzugs und auch sonst ist es gerade untüchtige Planlosigkeit, die die Handlungsweise des Antonius kennzeichnet, und so hätten wohl auch, angesichts der von Plutarch vorgelegten Fakten, sowohl die philosophische als auch die «rhetorische» Ethik geurteilt.

Plutarch warnt also vor planlosem Leben, insbesondere davor, sich von Personen abhängig zu machen, die selbst der Leitung bedürfen; die Helden aller seiner Biographien werden unnachlässig kritisiert, wenn sie es an der nötigen Souveränität fehlen lassen. Souveränität, d.h. die Kraft, jederzeit kontrolliert zu handeln, Herr seiner Taten zu sein, Regie zu führen, ist einer der allgemeinen Hauptwerte, zu denen der Biograph seine Leser erziehen will¹⁴.

2. PROPERZ UND DIE SCHEINBARE LÖSUNG VON DER TRADITION

Haben Plutarch und die von ihm vertretene Tradition denn Gegner? Die Wirkung der Plutarchischen Biographien beruht nicht zuletzt darauf, daß ihr Verfasser eine so gute Hand bei der Auswahl seiner allgemeinen Werte hatte. Souveränität ist ein rein formaler Wert; er gilt für Sokrates und Rhetoren, für Epikureer wie für Kyniker. Keiner Schule angehörig, ist er von einer Art, daß die gesamte klassische παιδεία ihn — bis heute — vertritt. Haben Plutarch und die von ihm vertretene Tradition also Gegner?

Demetrius und Antonius selbst wird man kaum als Gegner aufführen können. Demetrius versinkt entweder in Stumpfheit oder wird zum Vulgärepekureer¹⁵ — Plutarch weiß es nicht —, jedenfalls ist er kein *Anwalt* des χρῆσθαι ἀσκεπτότερον ἑαυτῶι. Antonius bekennt sich zwar dazu, deutet es aber wohl zu einer gottähnlichen Überlegenheit über alle Regeln um: Er, der neue Dionysos, scheint sich durchaus nicht unsouverän zu fühlen, sondern, im Gegenteil, in gewissen, ihn kennzeichnenden Momenten seines Lebens, vor allem in seiner Eigenschaft als Mitglied der Ἀμυμητόβιοι, auf das normale menschliche Bedürfnis nach Planung spöttisch hinabzusehen. Auch Plutarchs Antonius ist also kein Anwalt des alltäglicheren χρῆσθαι ἀσκεπτότερον ἑαυτῶι.

¹⁴ Vgl. Verf., *Plutarchs «Leben der Gracchen»*, in: ANRW 33.6 (1992), bes. S. 4328.

¹⁵ Zur seriösen Einstellung der Epikureer, vor allem in Liebesdingen, vgl. das tolerante *Fragm. Vat.* Nr. 51 Us. und die weniger entgegenkommend formulierten Ausführungen bei Lukrez IV 1121ff.

Bei der Suche nach Einstellungen zum Leben darf man nicht nur solche geistigen Strömungen befragen, die sich selbst die Aufgabe zuschreiben, Menschen zu formen; auch volkstümliche Anschauungen sind zu prüfen. Als Spiegel dessen, was «man dachte», muß uns die Neue Komödie gelten¹⁶. Man könnte also unter den verliebten Jünglingen der Nea nach solchen suchen, die sich zum *χρῆσθαι ἄσκεπτότερον ἑαυτῷ* bekennen¹⁷. Die immer wieder auf die Bühne gebrachten Liebeshändel böten, von heutigen Verhältnissen aus geurteilt, viel Gelegenheit zu einem heftigen «Ich lebe, wie ich will», «Geh mir doch mit deiner Disziplin». Adressat wäre der Vater oder jeder, der den Vater vertritt. Dergleichen kommt aber nicht vor. Die verliebten Söhne sind zwar Sklaven ihrer Liebe¹⁸, aber sie sind der väterlichen Autorität gegenüber nicht um dieser Liebe willen aufsässig; es gibt keine schlechten Söhne in der Komödie¹⁹ und somit auch dort keine Anwälte des *χρῆσθαι ἄσκεπτότερον ἑαυτῷ*, soweit wir wissen.

Um so mehr muß es erstaunen, wenn es gleich zu Anfang eines augusteischen Gedichtbuches heißt, der Sprecher, also der Dichter oder dessen «lyrisches Ich», sei von Amor auf die Bahn des *nullo vivere consilio* gebracht worden²⁰. Diese Properzischen Worte können als lateinische Übersetzung von *χρῆσθαι ἄσκεπτότερον ἑαυτῷ* gelten. *Sine sensu vivere amantes*, sagt Properz anderswo ganz ähnlich (I 12.1). Wenn es II 1.55 heißt, *una meos quoniam praedata est femina sensus*, so wird damit — wie auch an nicht wenigen anderen Stellen — das Bekenntnis zum *nullo vivere consilio* durch das zum *servitium amoris* ergänzt und gedeutet. Man ist, jedenfalls für die Situation, in der man sich im Gedicht äußert, Sklave einer Herrin (auch eines Herrn). Das erinnert in der Tat an das Leben insbesondere des Antonius. Man fühlt sich auch *durchge-*

¹⁶ Ph.-E. LEGRAND, *Daos. Tableau de la comédie grecque*, Lyon 1910, S. 309.

¹⁷ Vgl. Plautus, *Cist.* 206ff.: *iactor, crucior, agitor, | stimulator, vorsor | in amori' rota, miser examinor, | feror, differor, distrahor, diripior, | ita nubilam mentem animi habeo. | ubi sum, ibi non sum, ubi non sum, ibi est animus, | ita mi omnia sunt ingenia; | quod lubet, non lubet iam id continuo, | ita me Amor lassum animi ludificat, | fugat, agit, appetit, raptat, retinet, | lactat, largitur* usw.

¹⁸ P. FLURY, *Liebe und Liebessprache bei Menander, Plautus und Terenz*, Heidelberg 1968, S. 86, 88. Ph.-E. LEGRAND, a.a.O. (oben Anm. 16), S. 186. Siehe Menander, *Fragm.* 541.

¹⁹ Ph.-E. LEGRAND, a.a.O., S. 144ff., 179; H.-W. RISSOM, *Vater- und Sohnmotive in der römischen Komödie*, Diss. Kiel, *passim*. S. 124 führt Rissom aus, daß die direkte Konfrontation zwischen Vater und Sohn auf der Bühne die Ausnahme sei, weil die Autorität des Vaters zu stark wirke.

²⁰ Properz I 1.6.

hend als Sklave der Liebe oder seiner domina: also nicht nur, solange man abgewiesen wird, sondern auch, wenn man Erfolg hat. Freund Bassus hatte den Dichter darauf hingewiesen, daß es neben Cynthia auch andere schöne Frauen gibt. Der Dichter antwortet

*quid me non pateris vitae quodcumque sequetur
hoc magis assueto ducere servitio?* (I 4.2f.),

und das schreibt er, während Cynthia ihm gnädig und er sich ihrer Liebe ganz sicher ist (25f.).

Erinnert der Vers *una meos quoniam praedata est femina sensus* also besonders deutlich an die Vorwürfe, die Plutarch Antonius, nicht aber Demetrius gegenüber zu machen hat, so ist dagegen I 6.26 ganz allgemein und gibt das griechische χρῆσθαι ἁσκεπτότερον ἑαυτῷ sogar besonders provozierend wieder: laß mich, sagt der Sprecher, *hanc animam extremae reddere nequitiae*²¹.

Wir scheinen also eine Spur von Personen gefunden zu haben, die sich zu dieser Lebensform bekennen, sie jedenfalls akzeptiert: d.h. zu den gesuchten Gegnern Plutarchs und der Tradition. Auch wenn diese Bekenntnisse für den, der sie äußert, nur vorübergehend gelten sollten, selbst dann, wenn sie von Anfang an nicht ernst gemeint sind, werden sie doch der Welt, für die sie geschrieben sind, nicht völlig fremd gewesen sein. Sie lassen einen Charaktertyp und Verhältnisse erkennen, die solche Bekenntnisse möglich machten. Es gab wohl in der Realität ungezogener Leute als auf der komischen Bühne.

Ein Beispiel für ein offenes Bekenntnis zur höchsten *nequitia*, wenn auch nicht zum *servitium amoris*, findet sich in Ciceros Rede *Pro M. Caelio*. Hier will der Redner die Anklage der noch jungen und lebenslustigen Witwe Clodia gegen seinen Mandanten u.a. durch die schonungslose Offenlegung ihres sittenlosen Lebenswandels erschüttern. Ohne Angst vor populären Pointen läßt er zu diesem Zweck auch die zwei Vattertypen auftreten, die man aus der Komödie kennt, den *pater durus* (in dieser Rolle erscheint ihr Ahn Appius Claudius Caecus) und den *pater lepidus* (§§33-38). Zwischen den beiden ethopoietischen Reden wendet der Redner sich selbst an seine Gegnerin und hält ihr vor, wie sie es zu treiben pflegt: *libidines, amores, adulteria, Baias, actas, convivia, commissiones, cantus, symphonias, navigia*²². Und nun der Beleg für

²¹ Vgl. Plautus, *Most.* 143ff. (Text unten S. 259 mit Anm. 43) zur Bedeutung von *nequitia* in diesem Zusammenhang.

²² Eben dies alles gehört zum elegischen Leben.

Clodias Bekenntnis zu all dem: Das alles wisse man von ihren eigenen Anwälten, die behaupteten, nichts gegen ihren Willen zu sagen. Dies und dergleichen habe sie sogar (selbst) *mente nescio qua effrenata atque praecipiti* auf das Forum und vor das Gericht gebracht (§35).

Wäre Clodia mit der gottgleichen Macht des Antonius ausgestattet gewesen, so hätte man sie unter die Ἀμιμητόβιοι in dessen Sinn zählen, ihr also eine höhnische Souveränität über die allgemein verlangte Souveränität, eine Art Metasouveränität, zubilligen können; so, wie sie gesellschaftlich dasteht, als zwar einem der ersten Häuser Roms entstammend, aber als doch nichts anderes als eine Privatperson weiblichen Geschlechts, ist das, wozu sie sich vor aller Öffentlichkeit und vor höchsten Autoritäten bekennt, jedenfalls nach Cicero, aber wohl auch allgemein, als *extrema nequitia* empfunden worden.

Zu diesem Zeugnis kommen also die erwähnten Äußerungen Properzens hinzu, die, wie gesagt, belegen, daß eine derartige Lebenseinstellung bei aller Mißbilligung, der sie in der Regel begegnet sein wird, dem Leser doch nicht völlig unbekannt und somit unbegreiflich erscheinen mußte. Es gab also, um es zu wiederholen, tatsächlich Bekenntnisse zum *χρῆσθαι ἁσκεπτότερον ἑαυτῷ*.

Wie es sich in dieser Frage mit dem Properz der Elegien (insbesondere dem der Monobiblos, im weiteren auch dem der Bücher II und III), also mit dem Dichter oder seinem «lyrischen Ich» verhält, ist damit noch nicht entschieden. Ich werde im folgenden kurz fünf Interpretationsansätze daraufhin prüfen, ob sie Properz selbst in die Tradition hinein oder gegen sie stellen, und meine eigene Auffassung vortragen.

a) In jüngerer Zeit hat J. Griffin²³ auf Parallelen hingewiesen, die Properz zwischen sich und Antonius ziehe; Griffin geht soweit, von einer Identifikation Properzens mit Antonius zu sprechen. Wäre das richtig, so stünde in Properz ein offener Gegner der von Plutarch repräsentierten Tradition vor uns. Ausgerechnet zu Antonius sagte er sein Ja, und nicht einmal zu diesem als dem metasouveränen Amimetobios, sondern als einem echten *χρῶμενος ἁσκεπτότερον ἑαυτῷ*. Der Anfang des 'Antoniusgedichts', III 11, legt auf den ersten Blick eine solche Interpretation tatsächlich nahe:

*Quid mirare, meam si versat femina vita
et trahit addictum sub sua iura virum?*

²³ Siehe Anm. 3.

*Criminaque ignavi capitis mihi turpia fingis,
quod nequeam fracto rumpere vincla iugo?*²⁴

Gegen die Richtigkeit der Griffinschen Deutung scheint mir aber neben dem weiteren Text dieses Gedichtes und allen direkten Äußerungen Properzens über Antonius auch ein allgemeiner Gesichtspunkt zu sprechen. Um mit diesem zu beginnen: Properz gehörte zum Maecenas-kreis. Es ist schwer vorstellbar, daß, bei aller in der Umgebung des Maecenas herrschenden vornehmen Lockerheit des Umgangs miteinander²⁵ ein mehr oder weniger direktes Ja ausgerechnet zum Lebensstil des Antonius dort freundlich aufgenommen worden wäre. Die in den 30er Jahren eifrig betriebene propagandistische Auseinandersetzung der verfeindeten Prätendenten hatte die Differenzen in der Einstellung zum Leben nämlich nicht nur nicht ausgespart, sondern, im Gegenteil, wesentliche Züge des jeweiligen «Image» daraus gewonnen²⁶. Was nun den Kreis des Maecenas anging, so äußerte man Respekt vor Octavian und, bei eventuell eigener Zurückhaltung, auch vor politisch-militärischer Aktivität. Im übrigen bekennt sich auch Tibull, Dichter nicht des Maecenas-, aber des politisch gleich gestimmten Messalakreises, wenn auch nicht so direkt und lautstark, zur *nequitia*. Messalla aber seinerseits war nicht nur ein tüchtiger General Octavians, sondern hatte sogar mit eigenen Broschüren in jenen Propagandakrieg eingegriffen²⁷. Maecenas gab sich locker²⁸; man scheint in seinem Kreis Wert auf gepflegtes Amüsement gelegt zu haben, und vielleicht war es ja das, wozu Properz beitragen wollte. Griffin will ferner die Tatsache, daß der Dichter sich in der direkten Auseinandersetzung ausschließlich ablehnend über Antonius — und Kleopatra — äußert, u.a. dadurch zu einem Argument *für* seine These machen, daß er Antonius mit Paris gleichsetzt und die Stellen, wo Properz sich mit Paris identifiziert, als verdeckte Identifikationen mit Antonius deutet. Das ist zu künstlich, um verstanden werden zu können. Wenn Properz Antonius ablehnt und sich mit Paris identifiziert, liegt die Annahme, zurückhaltend formuliert, näher, Properz habe einen sehr großen Unterschied zwischen dem Gegner des Augustus und der Mythenfigur aus der Vorzeit

²⁴ Der zweite Hinweis auf eine Identifikation des Dichters mit Antonius in dieser Hinsicht, den Griffin bei Properz findet, ist II 16.37ff.

²⁵ Vgl. Horaz, *Serm.* I 9.43ff.

²⁶ P. ZANKER, *Augustus und die Macht der Bilder*, München 1990², S. 42ff.

²⁷ *De Antonii statu* und *Contra Antonii litteras*. – Vgl. Antoinette BRAZOUSKI, *The Augustan Attitudes of the Poetic Persona of Tibullus*, Diss. Loyola Univ. of Chicago 1979.

²⁸ Seneca, *Epist. Mor.* 114.6ff.

gesehen. Griffins Konstruktion verlangt, das Gegenteil von dem zu glauben, was im Text steht: diesem ist schließlich zu entnehmen, daß Properz Antonius verachtet und Kleopatra gehaßt hat.

Daß Properzens Elegien einen Bezug zu Antonius haben, soll nicht bestritten werden: Griffins Aufsatz stellt das Material zusammen. Aber die Tendenz dieses Bezugs ist anders als Griffin ihn sieht.

b) Vielleicht inspiriert von der politischen Romantik der 60er und der frühen 70er Jahre, konnten einige Erklärer hinter dem Bekenntnis zum *nullo vivere consilio* und Verwandtem eine Protesthaltung gegen die politischen Verhältnisse der späten Republik sehen²⁹.

Die alte politische Kultur der Republik... war damals endgültig zusammengebrochen: Karriere machte man jetzt nur noch als Günstling der Großen.... Gallus [nach Stroh der Begründer des Neuen, das die Liebeselegie zu bringen hatte] gehört schon wieder zu den Jungen einer neuen Generation, zu denen, die sich von der Gegenwart um die traditionelle Möglichkeit politischer Bewährung betrogen sah... So läßt sich vielleicht verstehen, warum Gallus, der seine Zukunft noch nicht ahnte, etwas vom Unbehagen dieser Generation formulierte und warum sich sein Protest gerade in Liebesdichtung ausdrücken konnte. Liebesleben ist Privatleben par excellence: Eine Jugend, die sich aufs Private reduziert fühlte, rief, wie zum Hohn gegen die Alten, die Liebe als ihren eigentlichen Lebensinhalt aus. Die Erhöhung ausgerechnet des minderwertigen Liebesobjekts ist nur die Folge dieses Willens zum Choc³⁰.

Die Probleme dieser Auffassung sind denjenigen der vorher erwähnten ähnlich. Im Hinblick auf Properz jedenfalls ist ja unter anderem fraglich, ob ein Angehöriger des dem Princeps nahestehenden Maecenaskreises in einer 28 v.Chr. erschienenen Gedichtsammlung und in den folgenden Büchern, die 3 bzw. 5 Jahre später erschienen (die Erinnerung an den Amimetobios war noch nicht verblaßt, und mancher der zahlreichen Liebhaber der «Villenkultur»³¹ mochte tatsächlich schon zu bedauern angefangen haben, daß alles so gekommen war, wie man es jetzt erlebte) sich zu einem Protest hat motiviert sehen können, der in die Nähe eines Ja zu Antonius führen konnte.

Wie dem auch sei — d.h. ob ein Angehöriger des Maecenaskreises nun proantonisch protestieren oder schockieren konnte bzw. wollte oder

²⁹ W. STROH, *Die Ursprünge der römischen Liebeselegie*, *Poetica* 15 (1983), S. 205-246; N. HOLZBERG, *Die römische Liebeselegie. Eine Einführung*, Darmstadt 1990.

³⁰ W. STROH, a.a.O., S. 244f.

³¹ P. ZANKER, a.a.O. (oben Anm. 26), S. 35ff.

nicht (ich glaube, er konnte und wollte nicht – er war in der falschen Partei) —: jemand, der durch gelebte Nichtsnutzigkeit *protestiert*, tut das nicht um der Nichtsnutzigkeit willen, sondern um «Zeichen zu setzen». Die Nichtsnutzigkeit, die Planlosigkeit ist Mittel zu einem Zweck, und der ist, wenn auch nicht vordergründig, ernsthaft. So sieht es jedenfalls auch Stroh. Die Richtigkeit der Interpretation Strohs vorausgesetzt, wäre Properz sicher kein *homo nequam* in dem Sinne, daß er als Gegner Plutarchs und der Tradition angesehen werden könnte. Im Gegenteil: er schlüpfte in die *Maske* eines *homo nequam*, um durch Schock einen Beitrag zur Wiederbelebung der Tugenden — und der Chancen — der besseren Zeiten der Republik zu leisten.

c) Bis heute liest man die Elegien als ‘Liebesroman’, gelegentlich sogar als autobiographischen Bericht über Properzens Erlebnisse und Gefühle; jedenfalls muß man wohl davon ausgehen, daß die Mehrheit der Properzleser immer noch mit Schanz-Hosius überall Glut der Empfindung lodern sieht³². Wieder sei dies Properzverständnis vorausgesetzt und gefragt, ob Properz, unter dieser Voraussetzung also, sich zum *nullo vivere consilio* bekannt hat.

Die Antwort ist schnell gefunden: Wer immer nämlich Properz so auffaßt, wird den Dichter selbst schließlich doch auf der Seite Plutarchs sehen. Der von den Vertretern dieser Auffassung als solcher angesehene Schluß des ‘Romans’ oder der ‘Autobiographie’, III 24³³, zeigt nämlich, daß der Verliebte nach allem Hin und Her mit seiner Situation aus eigener Kraft fertig geworden ist:

*nunc demum vasto fessi resipiscimus aestu,
vulneraque ad sanum nunc coiere mea.
Mens Bona, si qua dea es, tua me in sacraria dono*(III 24.17-19).

Damit widerrufe der Dichter eben die in I 1 geschilderte Einstellung zu seiner Liebe, stellen auch die Vertreter der hier behandelten Auffassung fest³⁴. Nach dieser Interpretationsrichtung finden wir also bei Properz nach bitteren Erfahrungen eine Einsicht, von der selbst bei Demetrius keine Rede sein kann. Der Sprecher bricht mit seiner Ver-

³² «Glut der Empfindung lodert überall»: II 4, 1935, S. 201.

³³ Siehe den Kommentar von M. ROTHSTEIN, Dublin–Zürich 1966³, zu III 24 (Einleitung).

³⁴ M. ROTHSTEIN, *ibid.* In der doch auch ungewöhnlichen Formulierung *nullo vivere consilio* findet Rothstein allerdings nichts, was in einem ähnlichen Sinne kommentarwürdig wäre.

gangenheit, und d.h. mit dem χρῆσθαι ἀσκεπτότερον ἑαυτῷ, und kehrt zu den Werten der klassischen παιδεία zurück. Die Formulierung *me sine ... hanc animam extremae reddere nequitiae* gehörte also in die Zeit, die jetzt abgetan ist: der Dichter hat mit dieser Zeit und der damals von ihm vertretenen Lebenshaltung gebrochen.

Aber selbst diese nun unanstößig gewordene Formulierung kann einem Verfechter der autobiographischen Interpretation noch problematisch erscheinen. So darf sich nach Rothstein selbst der alte, überwundene Properz nicht ausdrücken, der demnach also romantischer im Sinne des 19. Jahrhunderts bleibt: *nequitia* bedeutet für Rothstein «Properzens nur durch die Liebe ausgefülltes Leben», *extremus* heißt für ihn soviel wie «bis zum Ende». *Me sine ... hanc animam extremae reddere nequitiae* heißt dann «Laß mich mein Herz einem bis zu seinem Ende der Liebe gewidmeten Leben überlassen». Properz spielt nach dieser Auffassung also offenbar mit dem Urteil, das die Außenwelt über seinen Lebensstil fällen dürfte, indem er die *Formulierung* (*nequitia*) akzeptiert, aber gerade dadurch, daß er das tut, demonstriert, daß er ihm einen anderen *Inhalt* («mein Lebensstil, wie er ist, den andere *nequitia* nennen») gibt. So etwas kommt vor, ist aber hier schon deshalb unwahrscheinlich, weil *nequam* ein Wort ist, das auf elegische junge Männer anzuwenden gebräuchlich war³⁵.

Kurz: Properz ist auch nach der sentimental Interpretation der Properzischen Elegien jedenfalls im wesentlichen auf der Linie Plutarchs: er findet sich und wird wieder souverän.

d) Gegen die gerade behandelte Interpretationsrichtung weist Allen³⁶ nach, daß Properz, weit entfernt, seine eigene Liebe zu beschreiben, die Liebe, von der er spricht, aus konventionellen Elementen konstruiert. Allen hat Catull auf seiner Seite, von dem man weiß, daß zwischen den Versen eines Dichters sogenannter leichter Verse und seinem Leben ein Unterschied besteht³⁷. «The particular function of Roman love elegy was to give personal form to typical experience»³⁸. Properzens Liebe ist

³⁵ Vgl. Cicero, *Paradoxa Stoic.* 36: *ego vero istum* (sc. den zuvor beschriebenen Sklaven einer Frau) *non modo servum, sed nequissimum servum, etiamsi in amplissima familia natus sit, appellandum puto.* Vgl. auch Anm. 43.

³⁶ A. ALLEN, *Sunt qui Propertium malint*, in: *Elegy and Lyric*, ed. J.P. Sullivan, London 1962, S. 107-148.

³⁷ Vgl. H.F. CHERNISS, *Me ex versiculis meis parum pudicum*, *ibid.*, S. 15ff.

³⁸ A. ALLEN, a.a.O., S. 129.

eine literarische Angelegenheit³⁹. Nach dieser Auffassung können die hier behandelten elegischen Aussagen natürlich keineswegs als Bekenntnisse gelesen werden. Die Elegien lassen also auch nicht erkennen, wie der Dichter persönlich zum $\chi\rho\eta\sigma\theta\alpha\iota\ \acute{\alpha}\sigma\kappa\epsilon\pi\tau\acute{o}\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\omega}\iota$ stand.

e) Mit seinem Buch *Propertius ludibundus*⁴⁰ hat E. Lefèvre ein neues Properzbild entworfen. Properz ist als Schriftsteller gesehen, der amüsieren kann und will. In geringfügigem Unterschied zu Lefèvres Ansatz glaube ich allerdings bei Properz doch auch jene *perpetua festivitas* zu finden, die Lefèvre bei ihm zu vermissen scheint (S. 157). Ein Dichter muß nicht selbst lachen, wenn er amüsieren will. In den hier interessierenden Punkten scheint mir Properz auch in einem weitgehend unbeachtet gebliebenen Beitrag von Heinz Antony richtig gesehen zu sein⁴¹. Zusammenfassend heißt es dort (S. 99): «... in der Übertreibung der Leidenschaft liegt potentielle Komik.... In vielen Elegien kann man von einer dreidimensionalen Komik sprechen: Selbstironie, ironische bis sarkastische Betrachtungen über die Geliebte oder Frauen im allgemeinen und ein dritter Pol, der für das Mißverhältnis verantwortlich gemacht wird, sei es eine Person oder die Zeitumstände überhaupt» (ib.).

*

* *

Meine eigene Auffassung ist, wie gesagt, mit den in (e) genannten Interpretationen eng verwandt. Um bei dem vom Thema dieses Aufsatzes vorgeschriebenen Rahmen zu bleiben, sei im folgenden nur der Nachweis versucht, daß weder (1) die Form des Bekenntnisses zum *nullo vivere consilio* noch (2) der unmittelbare Zusammenhang, in dem es sich befindet, ernsthaft sein können.

(1) Es ist zweierlei, ob jemand einer anderen Person sagt: «Du lebst *sine consilio*», «Du gibst dich einer *extrema nequitia*» hin⁴², oder ob man von

³⁹ Vgl. zum Unterschied der Liebesliteratur Properzens und Tibulls auf der einen, derjenigen Ovids auf der anderen Seite unten S. 262f.

⁴⁰ Heidelberg 1966.

⁴¹ *Humor in der augusteischen Dichtung. Lachen und Lächeln bei Horaz, Properz, Tibull und Vergil*, Hildesheim 1967. Vgl. z.B. S. 22, vor allem aber 84ff., wo mehrere Gedichte unter dem Titel «Lusus» interpretiert sind.

⁴² Plautus, *Trin.* 650f. sagt der Tadelnde: *Cape sis virtutem animo et corde expelle desidiā tuo. ! In foro operam amicis da, ne in lecto amicae, ut solitus es...* (Zu *desidia*, das sich nicht wesentlich von *nequitia* unterscheidet, vgl. Properz I 12.1f.). Der Liebende

sich selbst sagt «Ich lebe *sine consilio*», «Ich verschreibe mich äußerster Nichtsnutzigkeit». Man kann das, ohne belächelt zu werden, in der Vergangenheitsform sagen («ich habe *sine consilio* gelebt»); wer derartiges in der Gegenwartsform von sich sagt, offenbart eine erhebliche Distanz zu sich selbst und signalisiert dem Hörer, daß diese Worte nicht *proprio sensu* verstanden werden sollen. Eine solche Äußerung kann, auch ohne begleitende Gestik und unabhängig von jedem Zusammenhang, als komisch, als Protest, als Zeichen, daß man nicht mehr der ist oder sein will, als den man sich schildert, und wohl noch auf weitere Arten aufgefaßt werden. Der Hörer kann sich auf keinen Fall über die Diskrepanz zwischen dem Inhalt der Aussage und dem Geisteszustand dessen hinwegsetzen, der sie macht. Die Distanz des Sprechers zum Inhalt seiner Aussage fällt also auf⁴³. «Was bin ich doch für ein Esel» sagt man z.B. nie, ohne zu wollen, daß der Hörer einen Anflug von Heiterkeit verspürt, unbeschadet der eventuellen Wahrheit der Aussage, unbeschadet auch der mit ihrer Äußerung verbundenen Absicht der Sprechers und dem u.U. sehr ernststen Zusammenhang, in dem sie fallen kann.

Wenn man aber nur zugestehen will, daß das Bekenntnis, man selbst lebe *nullo consilio*, man selbst gebe sich einer *extrema nequitia* hin, anders als der entsprechende Vorwurf von anderer Seite, komisch wirken *könne*, bleibt die Folgerung für *Properz* dieselbe. Von dem Axiom, daß vom Ernst zur Lächerlichkeit nur ein kleiner Schritt ist, profitiert hier, wie meist, die Lächerlichkeit. Die bloße Möglichkeit, diese Aussage komisch zu nehmen, macht sie komisch. Anders gesagt: wenn *Properz* ernst genommen werden will, darf er sich nicht so ausdrücken, daß man Gelegenheit erhält, über ihn zu lachen.

Eins der bewegendsten Liebesgedichte aller vier *Properz*bücher ist *carmen* II 15. Hier finden wir eine andere Formulierung des Zustandes, in dem sich der Sprecher befinden will:

*errat qui finem vesani quaerit amoris
verus amor nullum norit habere modum.*

entgegnet schuldbewußt: ... *Scribam ut esse me deceret, facere non quibam miser: | Ita vi Veneris victus, otio aptus in fraudem (!) incidi.*

⁴³ Der Sprecher in der *Mostellaria* ist u.a. eben wegen dieses Bekenntnisses komisch: *is* (sc. *amor*) *usque in pectus permanavit, permadefecit cor meum. | nunc simul res, fides, fama, virtus, decus | deseruerunt: ego sum in usu factus nimio nequior* (v. 143ff.). Allgemein zum Verhältnis Komödie-Elegie s. Fr. WILHELM, *Zur römischen Elegie*, *RhM* 57 (1902), S. 599ff.; Ph.-E. LEGRAND, *Les Dialogues des Courtisanes, comparés avec la comédie*, *REG* 20 (1907), S. 205ff.; Fr. LEO, *Plautinische Forschungen*, Berlin 1912², S. 140ff.; A.A. DAY, *The Origins of Latin Love Elegy*, Oxford 1938.

So kann der Liebende in der Tat selbst sprechen und er kann hoffen, auch den zu erschüttern, der im Augenblick nicht liebt; bereits aber die Formulierung «ich lebe *nullo consilio*», «ich gebe mich äußerster Nichtsnutzigkeit hin» bedient sich der Sprache des Gegners dieser Lebensform⁴⁴. Deshalb also wirkt sie komisch, und weil sie komisch wirken *kann*, ist ihr das Gewicht genommen.

(2) Die ersten Verse des Prologgedichtes des ersten Buches schildern, wie der noch unerfahrene Jüngling, der meinte, Mädchen gingen ihn nichts an, von den Augen einer Frau gefangen wird und wie es ihm seither schlecht geht. Er liege zu Boden, der übermütige Amor triumphiere über den Sieg; der vorherige Hochmut des jungen Mannes, d.h. wohl: seine Auffassung, mit der Liebe souverän umgehen zu können (vielleicht wie Horaz nach *serm.* I 2), sei dahin. Der ihm zusetzende Amor habe ihn gelehrt, Frauen, die wie seine Cynthia zu keinem Seitensprung zu bewegen sind, also alle Frauen, die «nicht wollen»⁴⁵, unerträglich zu finden und planlos drauflos zu leben, alle ernsthaften Lebensziele aufzugeben. Nun sei er schon ein ganzes Jahr wahnsinnig (*furor*) vor Liebe, aber die Götter gewährten keine Erfüllung.

Das sind die ersten Verse eines Gedichtbuches, und Gedichtbücher las man in der Antike sukzessiv. Erstplazierte Gedichte sind Programmgedichte: sie geben dem folgenden die passende Deutung. Wie muß man unter dieser Voraussetzung die von Properz ausgemalte Liebesgeschichte deuten? Gehen wir von den Versen 6f. aus. Ein Jüngling berichtet von sich, mit der Tür ins Haus fallend, er sei bis zum Wahnsinn verliebt und habe mit seinem Werben schon ein Jahr lang keinen Erfolg. Das ist eine Situation, die wenigstens von jedem Mitglied einer sogenannten Männergesellschaft, das nicht gerade Ähnliches durchmacht, als komisch empfunden wird. Wer den Sprechenden nicht geradewegs auslacht, nickt dem Bekennenden vielleicht verständnisvoll zu,

⁴⁴ Ein solcher Gegner ist Cicero. Vgl. *Tusc. Disp.* IV 32 (68):... *Totus vero iste, qui volgo appellatur amor...*, *tantae levitatis est, ut nihil videam, quod putem conferendum.* Ciceros vornehmer Ausdruck *levitas* bedeutet nichts anderes als *nullo vivere consilio*, *extrema nequitia* und was daraus folgt. Vgl. *ibid.* (69): *O praeclaram emendatricem vitae poeticam! Quae amorem flagitii et levitatis auctorem in concilio deorum conlocandum putat. De comoedia loquor, quae, si haec flagitia non probaremus, nulla esset omnino.* (Zur entsprechenden Absicht der einzelnen Komödiendichter s. S. 000 mit Anm. 48). Über den Verliebten heißt es (*ibid.* 34 [73]): *Mundum totum se ad amorem suum sublevandum conversurum putat.* Vgl. auch Anm. 15.

⁴⁵ Zur Bedeutung von *casta* vgl. Tib. I 3.83.

tauscht aber gleichzeitig mit den Normalgebliebenen bezeichnende Blicke aus. Der Unglückliche, der nicht will, daß man über ihn lacht, behält Kalamitäten solcher Art besser für sich⁴⁶. Milanion, erzählt Properz im folgenden, wurde am Ende für seine Anstrengung belohnt: Atalante wurde seine Frau — aber ihm, Properz, gegenüber sei Amor lahm, lasse seine Künste nicht wirken, und verhalte sich überhaupt ganz anders als sonst (17f.). Das wehleidige Argument «Allen anderen geht es gut, nur mir geht es schlecht» ist auch nicht gerade dazu angetan, den Hörer in ernster Stimmung zu halten. Auf andere Weise komisch ist es, wenn der Dichter die Hilfe von Zauberinnen in Anspruch nehmen will, die die Fähigkeit haben, «uns *vorzumachen*, sie könnten den Mond vom Himmel herunterholen». Die — simple — Komik beruht hier darauf, daß der Sprecher zuerst den Ast absägt, um dann daraufzuklettern: «Ihr, die ihr die betrügt, denen ihr helfen sollt, leiht mir eure Hilfe!» Die Komik des folgenden Hilferufs an die Freunde beruht zunächst nur auf der Übertriebenheit der Vorstellungen, dann aber wieder, wie die des Anfangs, auf der Hilflosigkeit, die der Sprecher verrät. Er will ja Hilfe gegen das, worin nicht wenige Interpreten eine Lebenswahl sehen, also gegen das *nullo vivere consilio*, was in v. 27 inhaltlich kaum verändert in dem Ausdruck *non sanum pectus* erscheint; er ist wütend über sich und die Art, wie er zu leben gezwungen ist. Was ist schon amüsanter als ein Verliebter, dem sein Verliebtsein auch Anlaß gibt, sich darüber aufzuregen? Aber natürlich will er nicht Heilung, um in Zukunft *ratione et via* zu leben, sondern nur, weil er keinen Erfolg hat — das ist so, wie wenn ein Kleptomane nicht deshalb geheilt werden will, weil Stehlen schlecht ist, sondern weil ihm das Stehlen nicht so recht gelingen will. Die weisen Glückwünsche und Ratschläge des Schlusses sind von sehr alltäglichem Witz; wir brauchen darauf nicht näher einzugehen.

Was komisch sein kann, hat, wie gesagt, oft seinen Ernst verloren, und so, denke ich, wird man Properzens Programmgedicht (und die meisten seiner übrigen Liebesgedichte) kaum als ernsthaft im Sinne der traditionellen Auffassung verstehen dürfen. Das Bekenntnis zum *nullo vivere consilio*, zur *extrema nequitia*, erscheint zudem in so umsichtigen, *via et ratione* ausgedachten Formulierungen, den Gedichten merkt man so sehr

⁴⁶ Daß man im Kreis des Maecenas diesen Ton kannte, zeigt Horazens schon erwähnte, 7 Jahre vor der Monobiblos veröffentlichte Satire I 2: jeder *amor*, der nicht *facilis* ist, ist dem Spott preisgegeben: ... *tument tibi cum inguina, num, si / ancilla aut verna est praesto puer, impetus in quem / continuo fiat, malis tentigine rumpi? | non ego; namque parabilem amo venerem facilemque* (vv. 117-119).

den hellenistischen Stil- und Ordnungswillen⁴⁷, das ἐσκεμμένως, die Planung bis ins einzelne, bis ins Kunstvoll-Sprunghafte hinein, an, daß allein die Form das, was durch sie gesagt wird, Lügen straft. Properz ist viel näher an Horaz als an dem Typ, zu dem die ältere Forschung ihn machen wollte. *Epist.* I 5.14f. sagt Horaz: *potare et spargere flores / incipiam patiarque vel inconsultus haberi*, und niemand hält ihn für einen χρώμενος ἀσκεπτότερον ἑαυτῶι. Wer doch in Versuchung gerät, den belehren die ersten Zeilen der folgenden Epistel eines besseren: *Nil admirari prope res est una, Numici, solaque, quae possit facere et servare beatum*. Das Lachen speziell über das kopflose Verliebtsein hatte in Rom offenbar auch ein Publikum.

Anders als vorher Menander und später Terenz hat Plautus Liebende sich oft direkt über die eigenen Gefühle äußern lassen, mit der Absicht, wie es in einer Monographie heißt, «die Verliebten zu ironisieren, sie als lächerliche Figuren zur Schau zu stellen, indem er ihr Pathos übersteigert und dann durch ironische Bemerkungen der Nebenfiguren oder auch der Verliebten selbst entlarvt»⁴⁸. Properz ist Kallimacheer, kein Plautusjünger; aber es liegt nahe, hier einmal das «Italische» zu bemühen, das ihm und Plautus gemeinsam (gegen allen guten Willen, es mit Kallimachos zu halten) sein könnte. Mit seinem Bekenntnis im 6. von ihm veröffentlichten Vers, *nullo vivere consilio*, hat er den Verliebten, dessen Seele sich im folgenden immer wieder in ähnlichem Sinne ergießt, geradezu mittels einer Überschrift zum Gegenstand des Amusements gemacht; in vielen Variationen setzt er seine Scherze in der großen Mehrzahl seiner Liebesgedichte fort. Ein guter Komiker macht gern ein ernstes Gesicht und hat dann noch zusätzlich Spaß an denen, die nichts merken.

Tibulls Dichtung ist in den uns interessierenden Punkten von derselben Art. Die Distanz, mit der er «sein» Liebesverhältnis sieht, ist immer wieder deutlich, wenn die wörtlichen Bekenntnisse in der Form, wie sie uns hier im Zusammenhang mit Plutarch interessieren, im Ton auch milder bleiben. Aber gleich im Eröffnungsgedicht heißt es, mit deutlichem Hinweis auf den zu erwartenden Vorwurf der *nequitia* (v. 57f.),

*non ego laudari curo, mea Delia: tecum
dum modo sim, quaeso segnis inersque vocer.*

⁴⁷ Im wesentlichen gilt in dieser Hinsicht auch für Properz, was F. CAIRNS für Tibull gezeigt hat (*in: Tibullus. A Hellenistic Poet at Rome*, Cambridge 1979).

⁴⁸ P. FLURY, a.a.O. (oben Anm. 18), S. 85.

Im 2. Gedicht finden wir das Wissen um die eigenen Komik (v. 87f.; vgl. Prop. III 25):

*at tu, qui laetus rides mala nostra (, caveto
mox tibi: non uni saeviet usque deus).*

Als nächstes ließe sich das in mehrfacher Hinsicht übermütige Priapgedicht I 4 erwähnen und vieles Weitere, das nach dem dem Gesagten sich von selbst versteht.

Die übrigen Dichter des Corpus Tibullianum sind von anderer Art. Sie nehmen ihre Liebe ernst: nichts von Distanz, von dem Spaß, die eigene *extrema nequitia* in allen Einzelheiten larmoyant zu beichten. Allein diese Differenz zu den großen Elegikern und vor allem zu Properz sollte zu denken geben. Wir lachen *mit* Properz und Tibull, aber wir kommen nicht umhin, gelegentlich *über* Lygdamus⁴⁹, den Sulpiciadichter und Sulpicia selbst zu lachen.

Wir lachen auch *mit* Ovid, aber seine Komik ist simpler als die der älteren Elegiker. Er ist ein Komiker, der uns lächeln macht, indem er selbst als erster lächelt; das tun Properz und Tibull meistens dort nicht, wo es um das uns beschäftigende Thema geht. Properz und Tibull sind *verliebt* auf einer vordergründigen ersten Ebene, *distanziert* auf der dahinterliegenden zweiten und wesentlicheren Ebene. Bei Ovid gibt es von Anfang an nichts anderes als diese zweite Ebene: das Eröffnungsgedicht seiner *Amores* beweist es. Er sagt ja von Anfang an, daß er Liebesliteratur machen will bzw. muß. Amor trifft ihn, *damit er Elegien schreibt*. In diesem Geiste heißt es schon im 2. Gedicht (v. 31f.):

*Mens Bona ducetur manibus post terga retortis
et Pudor et castris quidquid Amoris obest.*

Zum *nullo vivere consilio* steht er also nicht anders als Properz und Tibull: *distanziert*, *amüsiert*, *beschreibend*, auf keinen Fall *involviert*.

*

* *

Kommen wir zum Schluß. *χρόμενοι ἀσκεπτότερον ἑαυτοῖ* erscheinen als komische Figuren, wenn man versöhnlich gestimmt ist, abstoßend

⁴⁹ Im wesentlichen diese Sicht des Lygdamus auch bei W. ERATH, *Die Dichtung des Lygdamus*, Diss. Erlangen 1971. Vgl. S. 304: «Ihm (sc. Lygdamus) ist sie (sc. die Liebe) als innere und gegenseitige Verbindung zweier Herzen in erster Linie eine ethische Kraft.... Eine solche vergeistigte Liebesauffassung ist kaum Tibull verwandt, gar nicht einem Properz oder Ovid».

und lächerlich, wenn man von Standpunkt der seriösen παιδεία aus urteilt. Ihre Komik bzw. ihre Widerwärtigkeit liegt nicht zuletzt in ihrem Mangel an Souveränität. Dieser ihr Mangel wirkte traditionell besonders komisch oder abstoßend, wenn es eine Frau ist, von der sie gegängelt werden. Wo der Erzieher Plutarch warnt und verurteilt, können Properz, Tibull und Ovid lachen. Aber sie ziehen am selben Strick wie er. Mit dem *vivere nullo consilio*, dem χρήσθαι ἀσκεπτότερον ἑαυτῶι treiben sie ihr heiteres Spiel, der eine wilder und präventiöser, der andere sanfter und vorsichtiger, der dritte aus der Ferne, sogar dem eigenen Leser gegenüber in erster Linie aus der Attitüde des Textmachers heraus. Und damit treiben sie vielleicht auch indirekt, aber zu ihrer Zeit alles andere als revolutionär, ihr politisch nicht inopportunes Spiel mit dem auffallendsten χρώμενος ἀσκεπτότερον ἑαυτῶι aus Plutarchs Galerie, dem sie, wenn sie es wirklich tun, wohl nicht ganz gerecht werden.

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CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN CLASSICAL SCHOLARSHIP: A QUANTITATIVE SURVEY 1924-1992

SOURCES AND METHODS

L'Année Philologique is not only an invaluable research tool for the study of all aspects of the Greek and Roman world. Its 43,000 pages of bibliographical data form a unique source of information on the character of classical scholarship during the period under review. In this survey, these vast resources are used to trace large-scale developments in our profession which have never before been subject to a quantitative assessment.

I examined the entries for every fourth year from the initial year, 1924, to the latest issue currently available, 1993. Thus, this survey is based on a sample of eighteen volumes spaced at four-year intervals from 1924 to 1992. Whenever individual volumes of *Aph* dealt with more than one year, I used the appropriate proportion of all entries as the annual average (i.e., one-half of the 1940-41 issue and one-third of the 1924-26 and 1942-44 issues). Because of the very large number of entries per issue, especially in more recent years, I checked every tenth page of these volumes. The resultant samples should be sufficiently random to rule out significant bias and large enough to be representative of the total¹. The total number of references utilized for this study amounts to almost exactly 22,000. (If one were to include each entry in each volume, the total would rise to about three-quarters of a million, requiring up to 2,000 hours of compiling and processing.) Entries dealing with ancient authors (see below, Figs. 5-9) were not sampled but counted in their entirety, whereas the number of entries in a given section (see below, Figs. 4, 10-13, 15) was established through extrapolation from the number of pages.

For the purposes of this survey, it seemed advisable to include every single entry on a given page even if it was not the main entry but

¹ With respect to archaeological publications which are partly arranged according to modern countries, I sometimes used larger samples, such as every fifth page, in order to reduce bias in the representation of modern languages. The results were then adjusted to put them on a par with the usual ten per cent samples.

merely an abbreviated reference to the full citation given somewhere else in the volume². In this way, it was possible to count works in any section in which they had a claim to be included. Because of this, however, the total number of entries is always larger than the total number of individual items listed in a given volume. Figure 2 indicates that the relation of all references to all actual works has been fairly stable over time³. In general, the number of all references seems to be about twenty per cent higher than the number of publications. I ought to stress that the latter figure — which can be established by adjusting the totals of references downwards by about fifteen per cent — is not of particular relevance here: the relative representation of various disciplines, subjects and languages and their changes over time are much more important. Hence, whenever I operate with numbers rather than percentages, they should be taken as (fairly accurate) approximations. Although I might just as well have put the incidence of publications in 1924 at 100 and expressed all later rates in relation to that basic value, I preferred to use actual numbers to give an idea of the different orders of magnitude involved.

TOTAL NUMBERS

Figure 1 shows the total number of references and the total numbers of modern authors for each year under review. The number of authors is an approximation derived through the multiplication of the average number of authors per column with the total number of index columns in the back of the pertinent volumes of *APh*. Reviewers are not listed there and hence not included in the total. The margins of error resulting from this computation are unlikely to exceed a few per cent. The annual number of authors could only be established for those years which were dealt with in volumes covering a single year, which explains the occasional gap in the graph⁴.

² Book reviews are not included in this total unless they were listed as separate review-articles.

³ The consecutive numbering of items in each volume of *APh* started as late as in 1976.

⁴ Owing to some indeterminable amount of overlap, in multi-year volumes the average number of authors for any given year cannot be estimated by dividing the total by the number of years.

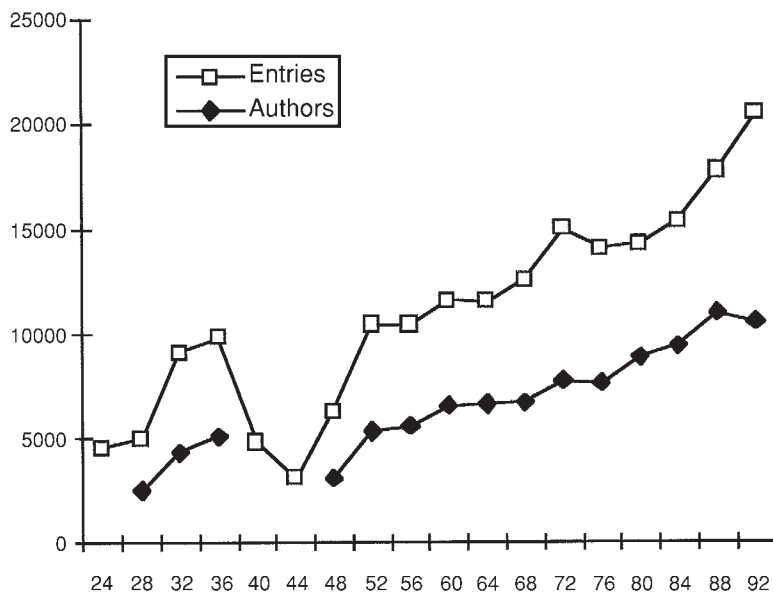


Fig. 1 Number of entries and modern authors (total)

The steep rise between 1928 to 1932 is probably in part due to improved coverage and does not necessarily mirror the actual increase in the number of publications. In the early stages of *APh*, this discrepancy was inevitable. (Both the 1924-26 and the 1927 volumes were published in 1928.) World War II had a massive impact on classical scholarship. Both the actual output of publications and the scope of coverage were adversely affected. It is important to realize that while the attested slump from 1940 to 1948 to some extent reflects reality, it was aggravated by limited access to work that did in fact appear. The 1940-41 volume was published in 1943 and the 1942-44 volume in 1946. As we will see below (Fig. 18), both the defeat of France in 1940 and the ensuing isolation from Anglo-Saxon scholarship left its mark on the number of studies listed in these two volumes. Even in the preface of the latter volume, published two years after the liberation of France, the editor warned of «les lacunes qui subsistent inévitablement, en particulier pour la production américaine». Given that American scholarship was least likely to be seriously affected by the war, the distortion caused by these omissions may have been quite

considerable. In the early fifties, scholarly output and the quality of *APH*'s coverage returned to pre-war levels. From then on, the annual output has been characterized by steady growth. Occasional minor deviations, such as between 1960 and 1964 or 1968 and 1972, are probably best ascribed to slight irregularities in the timing of publication: thus, a delay of a month or two could easily increase the share of all publications of a given year that came to be included in that year's issue. The pace of growth has perceptibly increased over the last ten years.

By and large, the number of authors whose work was published in a given year has followed this upward trend. Figure 2 shows the ratio of the total number of references to the total number of authors, and, from 1976 onward, the ratio of the number of consecutively numbered individual items to all authors, both of which roughly follow the same pattern.

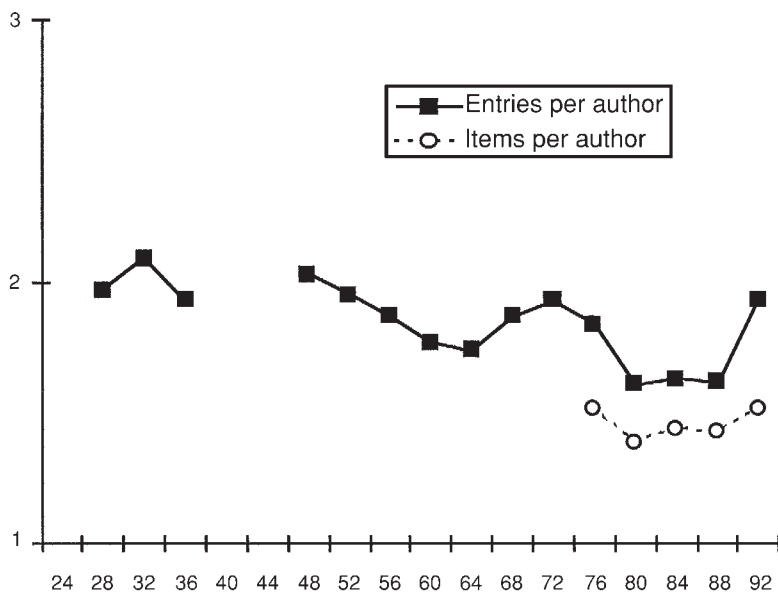


Fig. 2 Ratio of entries and items to modern authors

The general impression derived from this chart is that of a very slow reduction of the number of works written or edited by an individual

scholar from about two per year to little more than one-and-a-half in the eighties. The sharp upturn in the last year under review might indicate a reversal of this trend in favour of higher per capita output, a development that could be taken to reflect intensifying competition for scarce employment opportunities and other resources in the academic sector. It remains to be seen whether this hypothesis can be substantiated by future data. I should stress that these figures do not reveal the average annual output of all scholars who are currently active. Every volume lists only those persons who happen to publish in a particular year, the number of whom is doubtless substantially smaller than the total number of scholars currently alive who contribute to academic research. An additional albeit less important problem is created by the fact that some pieces would have more than one author or editor. However, on the theory that the relation of this annual cross-section of all authors to the actual total of all authors has not undergone any dramatic changes over time, Figure 1 seems to permit the inference that the total number of (publishing) scholars in the field doubled during the past sixty-odd years.

The total increase in the number of publications and authors is matched by a growing number of serial publications that accommodate this output. An examination of the «Index des périodiques dépouillés» of *APh* reveals the already familiar pattern of growth interrupted only by war. In this case, the sharp drop in the Forties can only partly be due to a contraction of the coverage: the pre-war level was not reached again until the mid-Sixties when access to periodicals had not been a problem for quite some time. However, any interpretation of this graph needs to allow for the essentially arbitrary selection of the serials included in this list. Since a considerable number of these periodicals are not primarily devoted to classical scholarship, changes in numbers may to some extent reflect shifts in coverage. The apparent downturn during the last decade could thus be explained in terms of a reduction of the coverage of periodicals which are only of marginal relevance to the field. Hence, while the substantial increase in the number of periodicals which are in the first instance devoted to the study of antiquity will not be in doubt, a precise evaluation of the serials market would have to be based on a much more detailed and time-consuming study of these indices which would probably not be worth the effort.

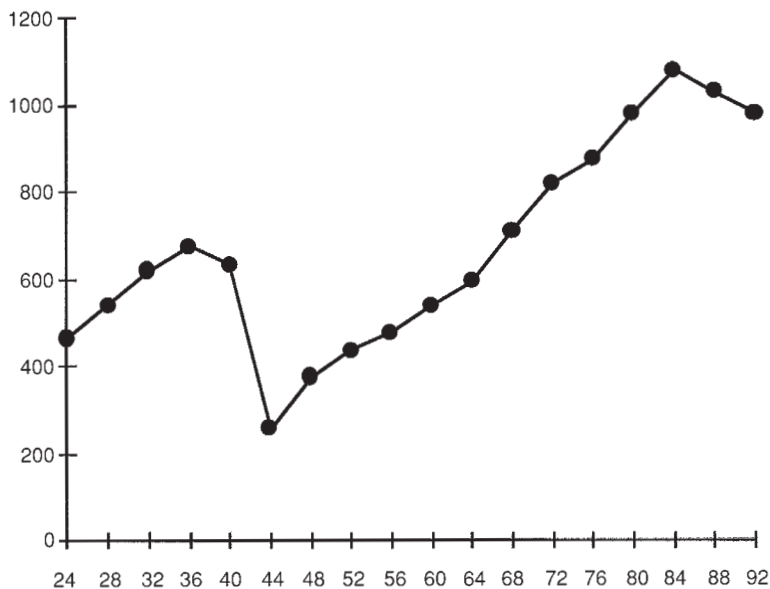


Fig. 3 Number of periodicals and serial publications

SUBJECT MATTER

Tastes differ, but do they ever change? In Figure 4, I have grouped all references into four categories. The graph for 'Ancient authors' is based on the section «Auteurs et textes»; 'Literature and language' consists of the sections «Histoire littéraire», «Linguistique et philologie», and «Histoire des textes». 'Archaeology' stands for the section «Antiquités», and 'History' unites subsections A to D of the «Histoire» section of *Aph*, viz., «Histoire nationale, ethnographie», «H. régionale, topographie», «H. sociale, économique, administrative», and «H. religieuse».

Notwithstanding considerable changes in the *amount* of scholarship, the relative share of each of these four major categories has remained virtually unchanged. The study of ancient authors clearly dominates the scene, accounting as it does for slightly under forty per cent of the total before the war and slightly over forty per cent ever since. Work on literary genres and linguistics takes up about ten per cent of the total. Even though the share of this field seems to have shrunk after the forties, it has done so at an extremely slow rate. Both archaeological publications and work on ancient history amount to some fifteen per cent of the annual output, respectively. The relative share of both fields has been virtually identical for fifty years.

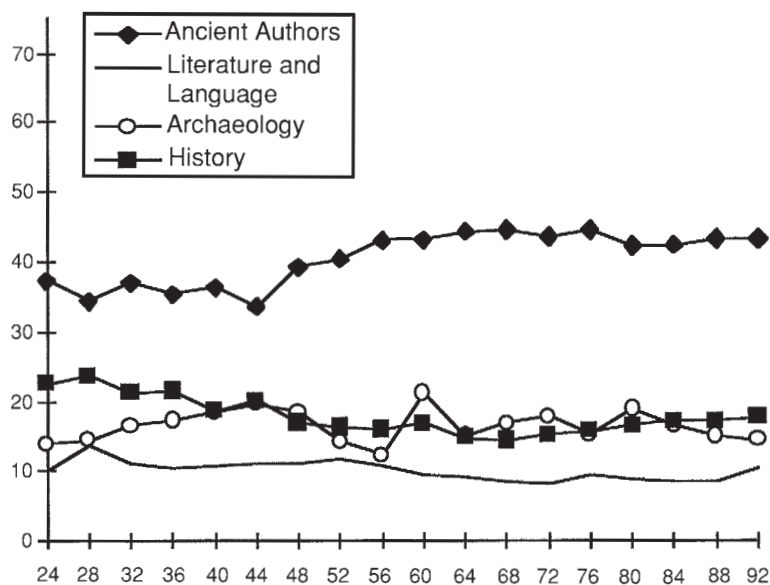


Fig. 4 Overall proportion of fields (in per cent)

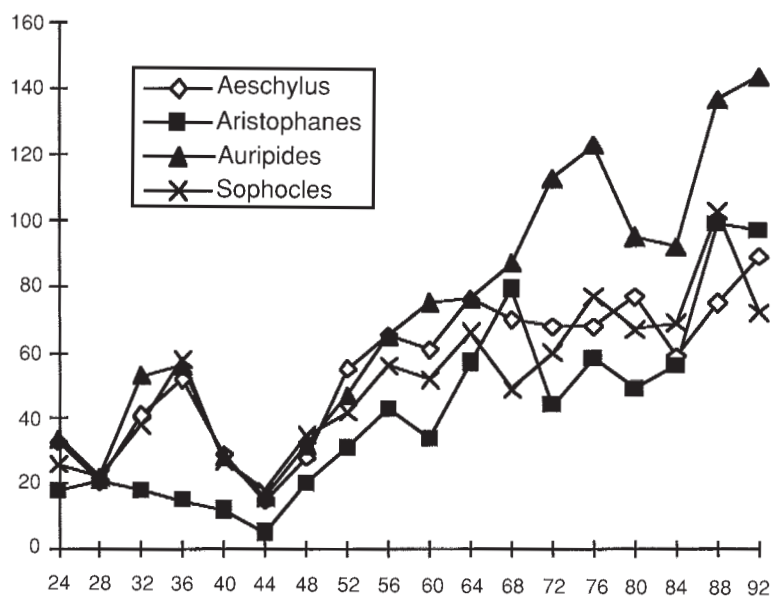


Fig. 5 Number of entries: dramatists

This large-scale constancy is matched by continuity in more specialized research. Figure 5 shows the annual number of publications on the four major Greek dramatists. Only two gradual micro-level changes are discernible: Aristophanes, who used to be rather unpopular during the pre-war period and despite the relatively large number of extant plays lagged behind the others until 1960, eventually caught up with Aeschylus and Sophocles. Euripides has gained more strongly than his rivals, at first in the Seventies and now again during the last few years.

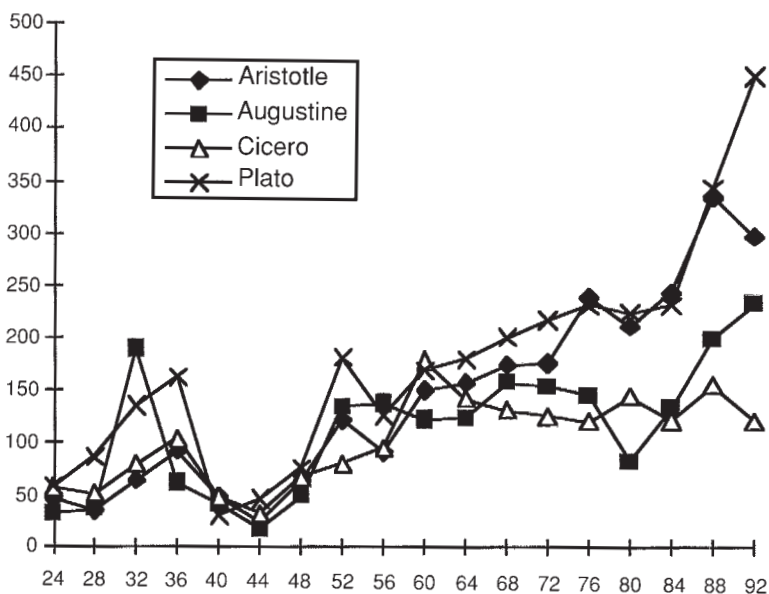


Fig. 6 Number of entries: philosophers, religious writers, and Cicero

Figure 6 paints a similar picture. Work on Aristotle and Plato has increased at about the same pace for most of the time, while Augustine only recently overcame a temporary lull. Only Cicero, who has been included in this chart mainly for want of a more suitable context, keeps losing ground in relation to the other authors and, therefore, to scholarly output in general.

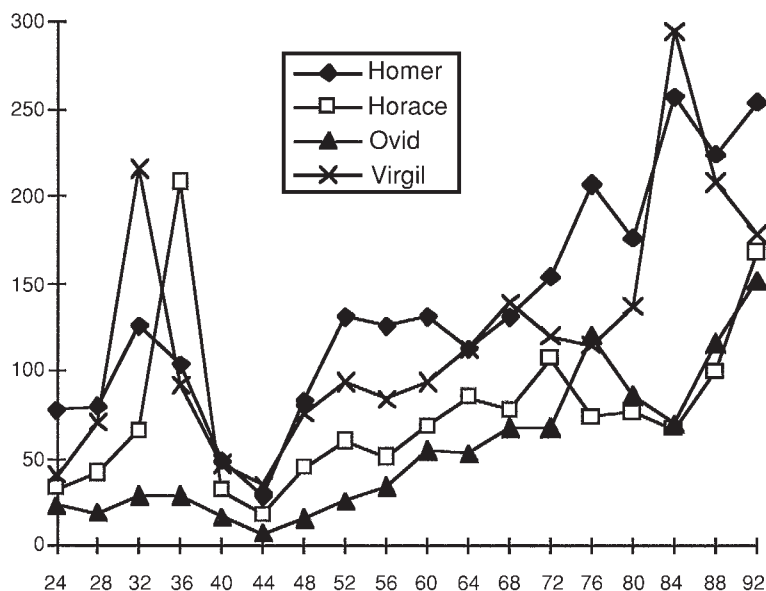


Fig. 7 Number of entries: poets

Figure 7 shows research on the major poets rise and fall in tandem. The short-lived peaks of Virgil and Horace in the Thirties were due to bimillennial anniversaries; Virgil's peak fifty-two years later may well be belated fall-out from the subsequent anniversary. It is interesting to note that Ovid for quite some time shared the fate of Aristophanes. One can only speculate whether their occasional *levitas* failed to endear them to previous generations of respectable classicists. Ovid has only recently begun to find more favour. From the beginning, Homer, closely followed by Virgil, has maintained a lead; both authors have risen faster than the other two.

Figure 8 highlights an impressive synchronization of interest in the major historians and biographers. To all appearances, they are considered equally interesting and worthy of scholarly attention. The only exception is Caesar who, even more than Cicero, has fallen from grace. Meanwhile, work on Caesar as an author even falls short of pertinent output in the Thirties and Fifties, which unequivocally marks him as a net loser. Herodotus has improved his ranking from second-last some forty years ago to runner-up. The very recent surge of interest in Plutarch, however, seems hard to explain. In order not to create a rather mislead-

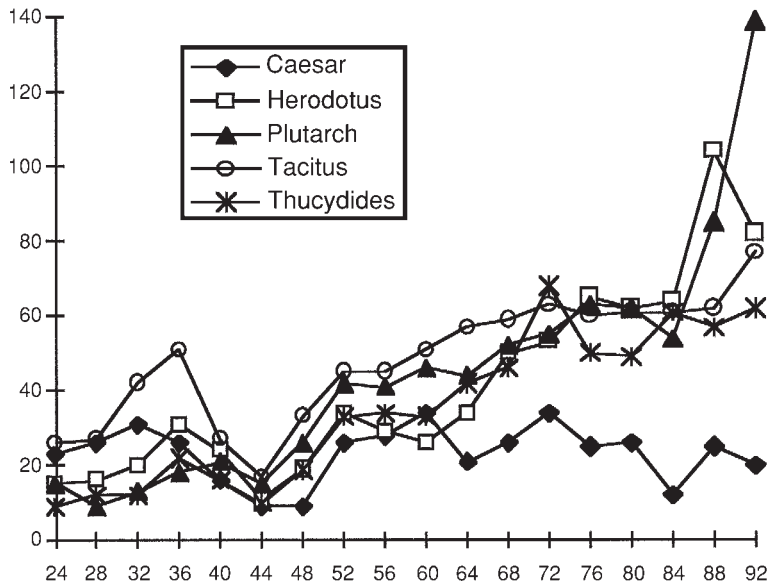


Fig. 8 Number of entries: historians and biographers

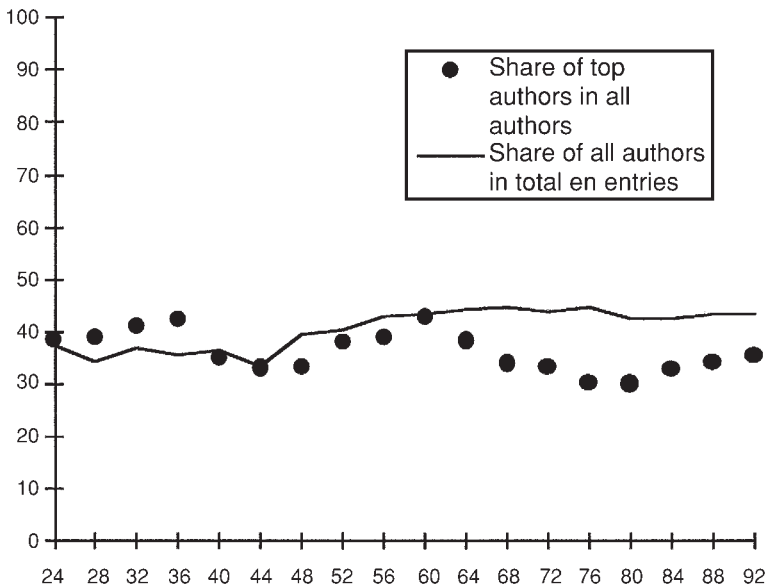


Fig. 9 Share of 14 top authors in total of all ancient authors (in per cent)

ing impression, I replaced the exceptionally high figure for 1992 of 195 entries with a three-year average of the numbers for 1991, 1992 and 1993. To judge from the evidence for the surrounding years (106 entries in 1990, 104 in 1991, and 119 in 1993), the peak of 1992 is probably an isolated fluke.

In view of this high degree of immutability, the lack of change of the share of work on these major authors in the total amount of work on all ancient writers will hardly come as a surprise. Research on the fourteen most 'popular' authors (including «Testamenta», traditionally the largest section by a wide margin)⁵, regularly accounts for about forty per cent of the total (Fig. 9). Incidentally, this tallies well with the fact that about forty per cent of all entries in *APh* deal with ancient authors. This double continuity makes it clear that neither the relationship between philology and other disciplines nor the amount of interest in traditionally privileged authors have undergone any significant quantitative changes. An increase in publications overall translates into an increase in publica-

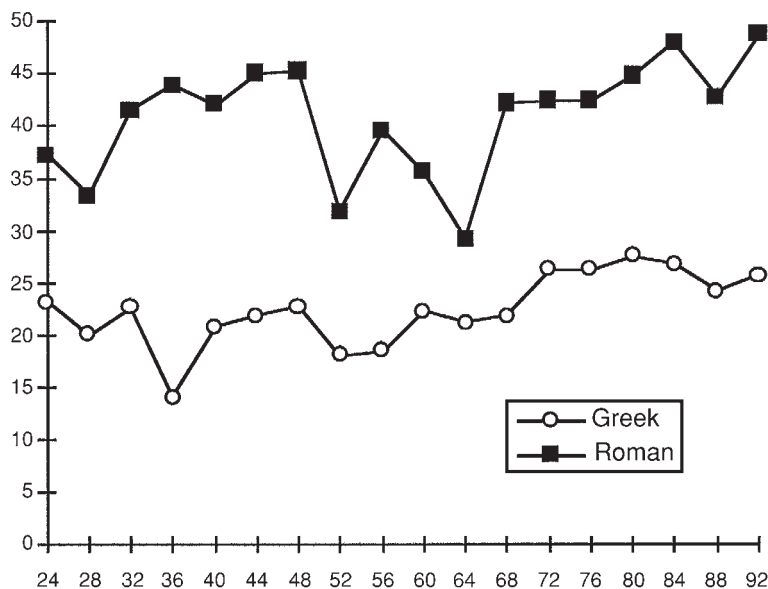


Fig. 10 Distribution of entries on «Histoire nationale» (in per cent)

⁵ Aeschylus, Aristophanes, Aristotle, Augustine, Cicero, Euripides, Homer, Horace, Ovid, Plato, Plutarch, Sophocles, Old and New Testament, Virgil (based on the relative share of authors in 1992).

tions on ancient authors which in turn translates into more pieces on the major authors, in both cases at the same rate of growth.

Much the same holds true for the main fields within ancient history. Figure 10 documents the absence of major changes in the relation of Greek to Roman affairs in the area of traditional history of politics, war and big men. A similar pattern exists for regional history and topography (Fig. 11), a field in which the dominance of Rome, coupled with Byzantium, is even more pronounced. In both cases, a lull in interest in Roman matters during the late Fifties and early Sixties has lastingly been overcome. Figure 12 shows the parallel development of Greek and Roman social, economic and administrative history. In this particular field, the gap between Greece and Rome is much smaller than usual and has recently further narrowed down. The history of religion (Fig. 13) is the only area where Greece has traditionally had an edge over Rome. This

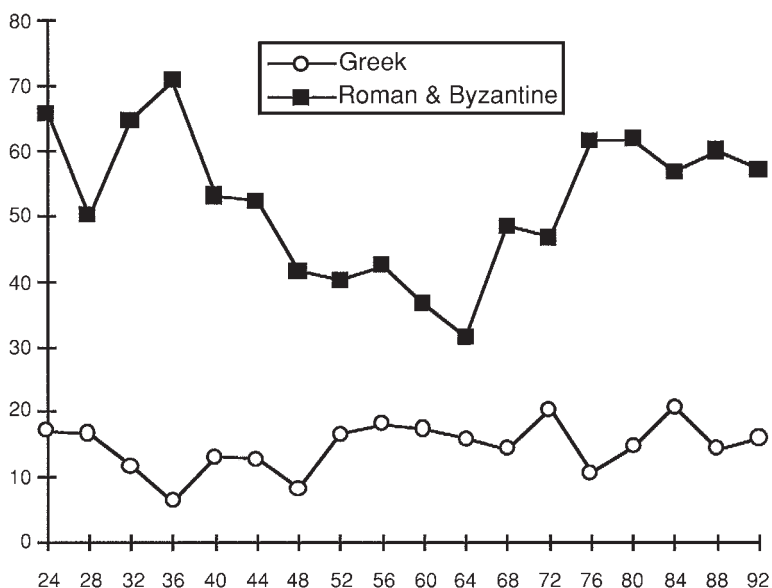


Fig. 11 Distribution of entries on «Histoire régionale» (in per cent)

section is dominated by the study of Jewish and especially early Christian religion, even though its share has been shrinking for the last thirty years.

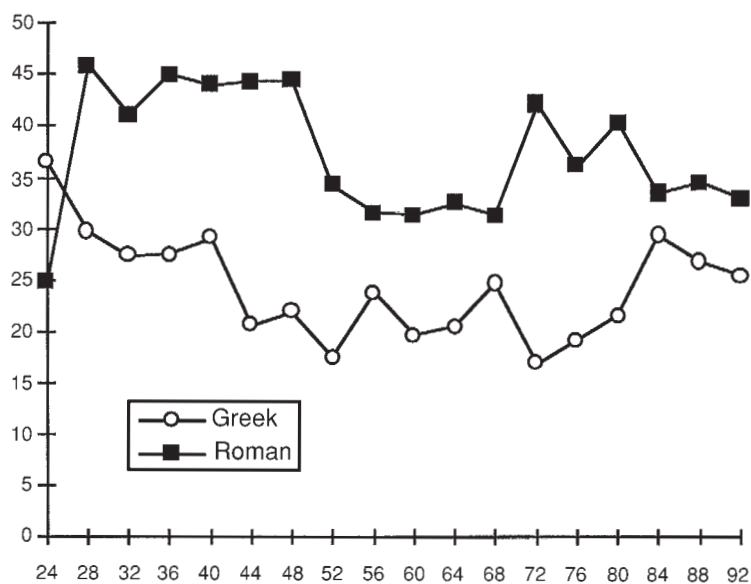


Fig. 12 Distribution of entries on «Histoire sociale, économique et administrative» (in per cent)

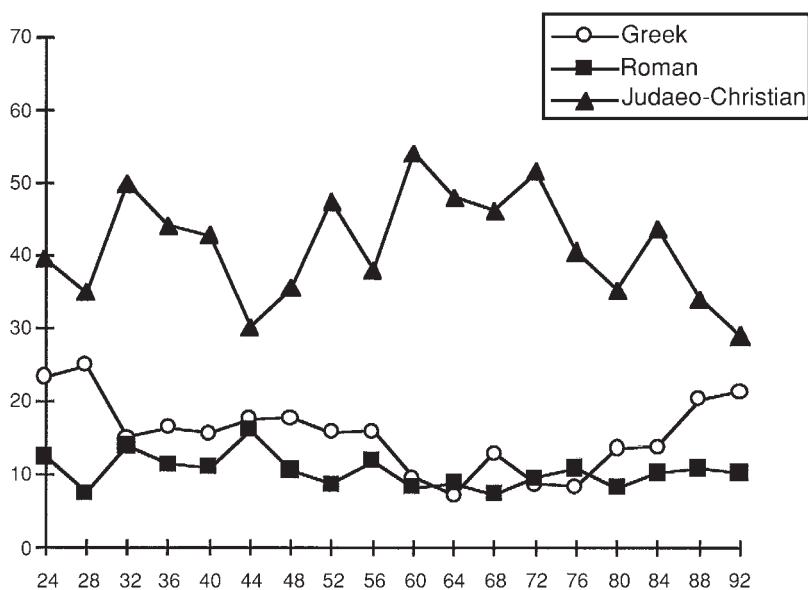


Fig. 13 Distribution of entries on «Histoire religieuse» (in per cent)

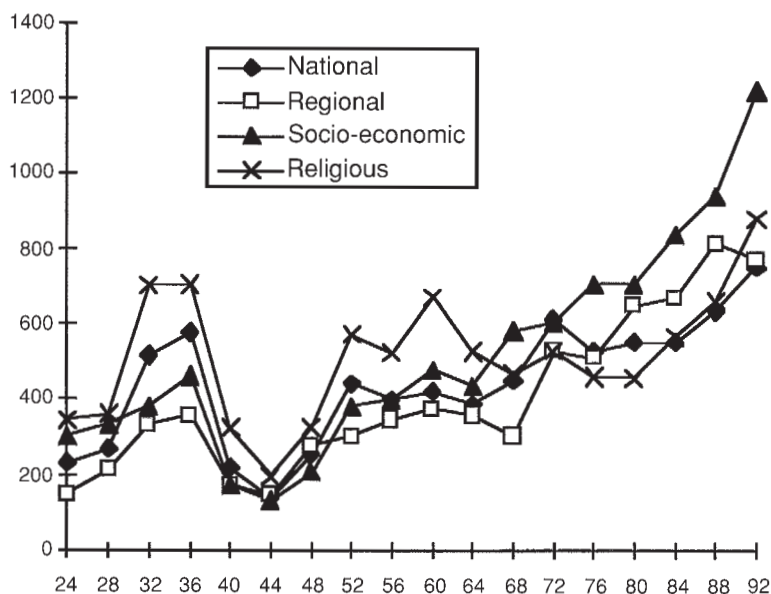


Fig. 14 Number of entries on ancient history

In this context, perhaps the most arresting finding is the lack of major changes between any of these four fields (Fig. 14). All of them have been rising and falling in unison since *Aph* began its coverage. It deserves notice, however, that interest in religious history, which used to be on top up to the Sixties, has somewhat abated, even though not to a substantial extent. A recovery may well be imminent. At the same time, from the late Sixties onward, social history has taken over the lead. Apart from a steep rise in 1992, the rate of increase in this field has not significantly differed from that of the other areas. Thus, research in social and economic history has only moderately grown in relation to other, more traditional areas of enquiry. Time will tell whether its recent upturn marks the beginning of a genuine transformation of the field.

Basically the same pattern of continuity is present in sub-disciplines defined by the study of a particular physical category of source material, and the study of ancient law (Fig. 15)⁶. Three to four per cent of all publications have usually been devoted to the study of inscriptions, a rate

⁶ Based on the sections «Papyrologie», «Epigraphie», «Numismatique», and «Droit».

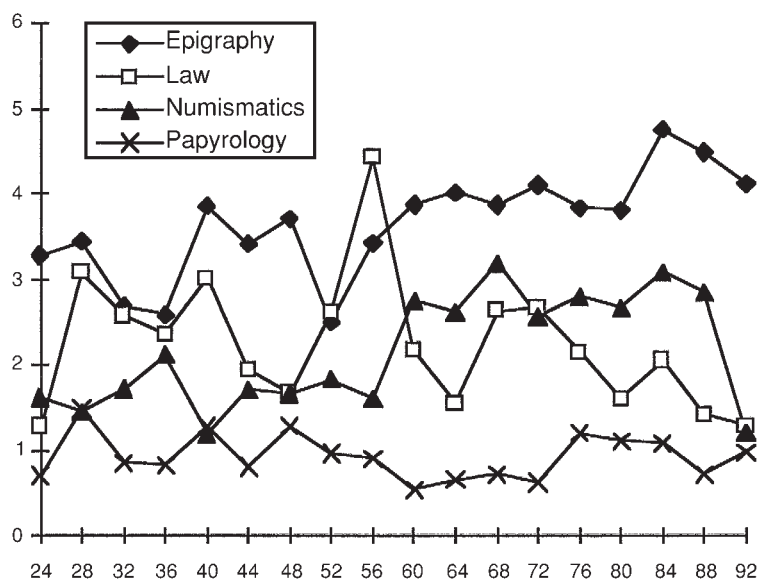


Fig. 15 Distribution of entries in various fields of specialization (in per cent)

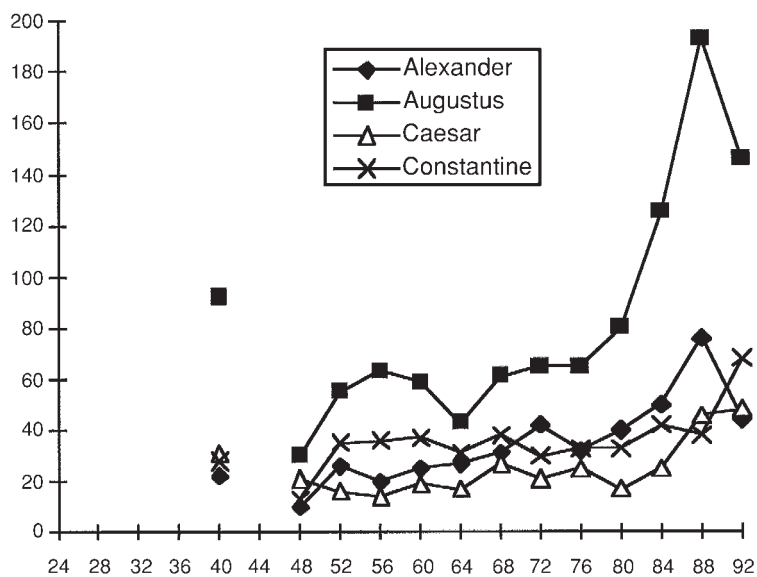


Fig. 16 Number of entries on historical characters

that has only recently risen a bit further. Papyrology has hovered around one per cent for seventy years. While numismatics has gained after the Fifties, the share of studies in ancient law has dropped from around three per cent before the war to about half that rate in recent years, and the subject must therefore be designated a net loser.

The largely unchanging amount of interest in individual ancient authors finds a parallel in the frequency of research on the main political characters of the ancient world (Fig. 16, based on the index of names of ancient personalities). Output on Alexander, Caesar and Constantine has for the most part developed in unison. Augustus has always been in the lead, although less so after the war than in 1940. Only during the last decade did Augustus climb more energetically than his competitors.

LANGUAGE

Unlike subject matter, the representation of modern languages in classical scholarship has been subject to more significant changes in the long run. Figure 17 gives an approximation of the annual number of entries in the most frequent languages (in alphabetical order). In much the same way as Figure 1, this chart documents a war-time drop and subsequent increase. Each of the four major languages gained considerably during the last forty years. Variations in the rates of increase can be clarified by examining the proportional representation of each language (Fig. 18).

This approach reveals three distinct phases. The period from 1924 to 1940 was clearly dominated by publications in German which accounted for about thirty-five per cent of total production. English and French reached about twenty to twenty-five per cent each, followed by Italian and, at a greater distance, by all other languages combined. At that time, Latin was apparently still the most common tongue in that last group. Once again, the war triggered massive short-term fluctuations. Thus, in 1940, French output dropped considerably. Since French publications would generally have been available to the compilers of that volume (which appeared in 1943), this deficit must mirror an actual contraction of scholarly publishing instead of a narrowing scope of coverage, a phenomenon that can be explained with reference to the German invasion of France in 1940. By contrast, 1944 (or rather, the years from 1942 to 1944 on which the average for 1944 is based), witnessed a dramatic reduction in the share of work written in English from close to twenty-

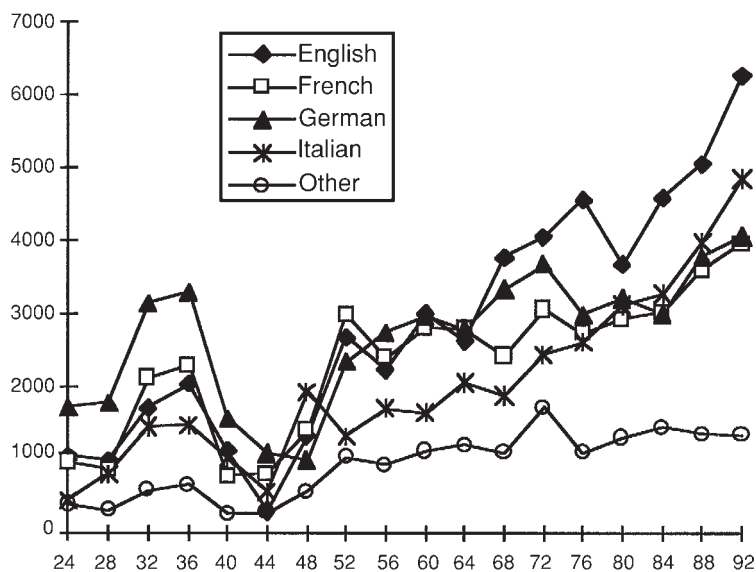


Fig. 17 Number of entries per language (total)

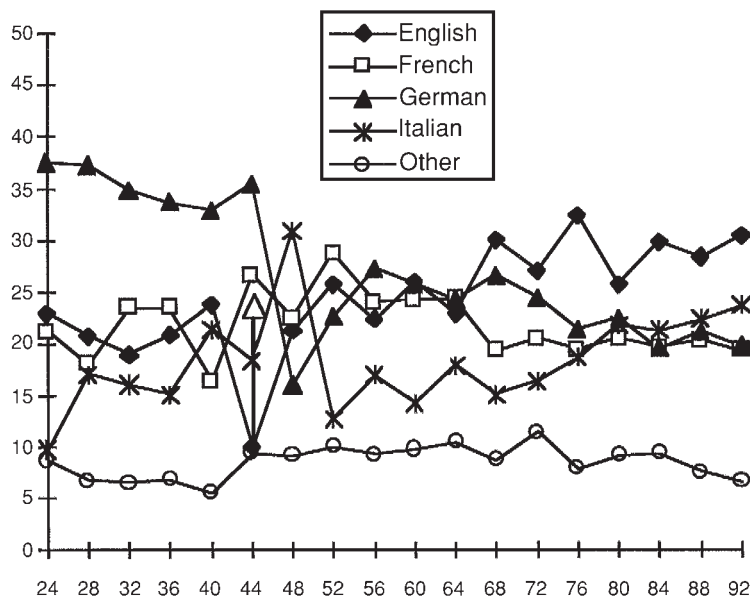


Fig. 18 Proportion of languages: total (in per cent)

five per cent to not more than ten per cent. Unlike the French drop in 1940, this was clearly a function of restricted access to Anglo-Saxon and especially American scholarship, as was indeed acknowledged in the editorial note quoted above. The arrow inserted in the chart gives an idea of the required correction; at the same time, of course, the other shares would have to be reduced accordingly. The upheaval caused by the war is still visible in the 1948 issue. This time, it was German scholarship which had fallen to a historic low of fifteen per cent, a development which undoubtedly reflects reality rather than problems of coverage. The surge of Italian publications in the same year is more difficult to explain. I can only hazard the guess that a combination of a substantial backlog from the previous years, less war-related disruption, and French access to the Italian material might have led to this short-lived relative increase in attested output.

In the context of this survey, 1952 can be identified as the first year of stable post-war development which has continued to the present day. Initially, the share of French and Italian returned to pre-war levels, while English gained at the expense of German. This trend accelerated from the late Sixties onward when owing to the more rapid growth of Anglo-Saxon and Italian scholarship, both French and German lost ground relative to these languages and eventually settled at fairly constant rate of about twenty per cent each. During the last thirty years, the share of Italian increased from about one-sixth to close to one-quarter of total annual output. English has been the net gainer: for the time being, its share has become stabilized at about thirty per cent. While this still falls short of the pre-war dominance of the German language, it gives English a clear lead over the other languages that is unlikely to erode in the foreseeable future. All other languages combined hover at between five and ten per cent of the total. In recent years, Spanish has accounted for a growing share of these entries, with Russian taking second place.

The representation of modern languages to some extent varies between different fields⁷. Figure 19 broadly resembles Figure 18; however, the rise of English in philology (based on the sections «Auteurs» through «Histoire des textes» of *APh*) has been even more pronounced than on average. In the last decade or so, English assumed the position once held by German, with a share in excess of thirty-five per cent of the

⁷ Here and in the next chart, the rates for 1944 have been left out; as in Figure 18, they would only tend to confuse the picture. Both sub-samples show the same misleading drop in publications in English.

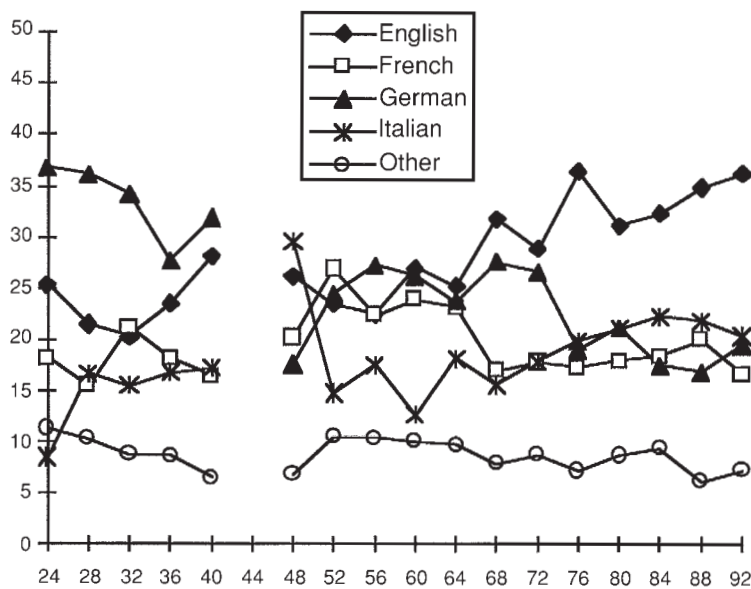


Fig. 19 Proportion of languages: philology (in per cent)

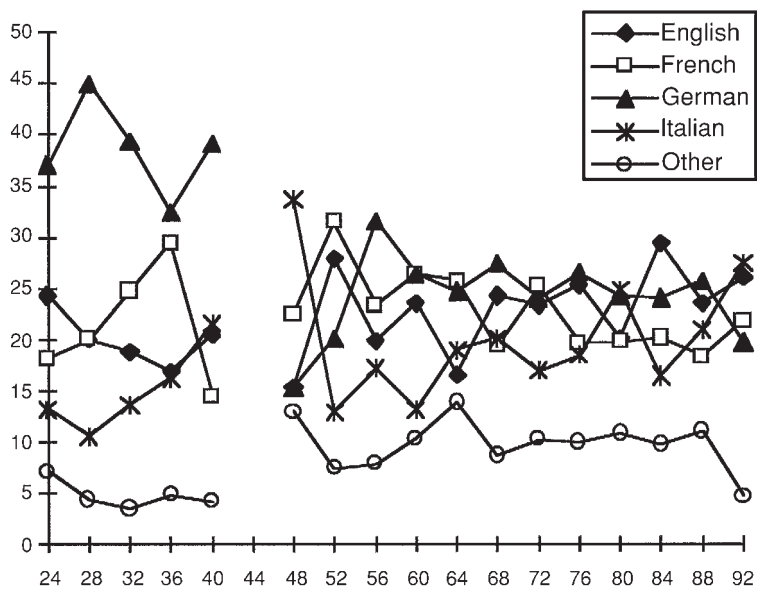


Fig. 20 Proportion of languages: ancient history (in per cent)

total output in this area. Because the section on archaeology has always been smaller than the other two main groups (defined above and below), linguistic representation frequently produces rather jagged curves: the smaller the size of the samples, the more visible inter-annual random fluctuations become. For this reason, I refrained from plotting the respective rates on a chart. Suffice it to say that in this field, no single language has ever managed to dominate the others for any period of time; in fact, the four main languages have always been close together. During the last fifteen years, all four of them remained within a range of from twenty to twenty-five per cent.

Ancient history (comprised of all entries from section «Histoire» onward) again shows a slightly different pattern (Fig. 20). In the pre-war period, there was a clear-cut hierarchy with German firmly in the lead (rising as high as forty-five per cent in 1928), followed by French, English, and Italian. The loss of German dominance after the war has resulted in a more evenly balanced representation of these languages. This is another area where English has not (yet?) assumed a leading position. In sum, the strong prevalence of English in recent philological research is balanced by a lack of dominance in archaeology and history, resulting in the moderate lead overall shown in Figure 18.

However, the picture looks very different when we adjust these shares for the different size of the populations of native speakers. From this perspective, English is by far the most poorly represented among the main languages. In relation to overall population size, scholars writing in German produce about 2.3 times as many publications as those who choose English, while French authors are 3.5 times and Italians 4.7 times as 'productive' as Anglophones. Considering that English has become the preferred language of choice for a growing number of non-native speakers, such as Dutch and Scandinavian scholars, the relative weakness of English is even greater than it seems. Since there is no reason to assume that *on average*, a scholar writing in one particular language is inordinately more prolific than someone who publishes in another tongue, these findings above all underline substantial differences in the number of classicists at an academic level in different societies. Thus, in spite of the vast resources of higher education in the English-speaking world, above all in the United States, academic institutions in some parts of Western Europe, especially in Romance countries, obviously put much greater emphasis on the study of antiquity.

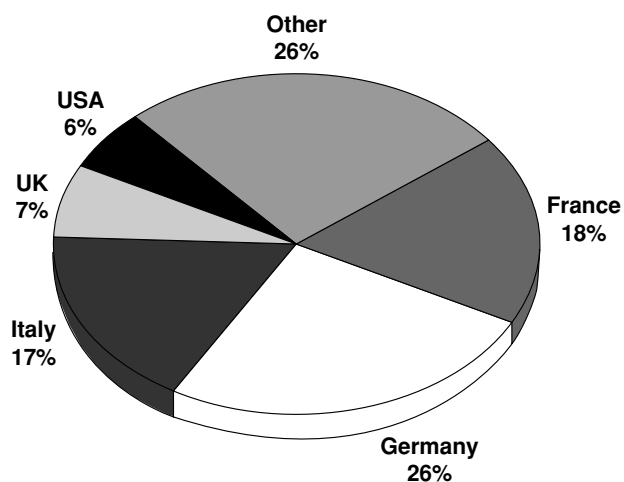


Fig. 21 National provenance of periodicals, 1932

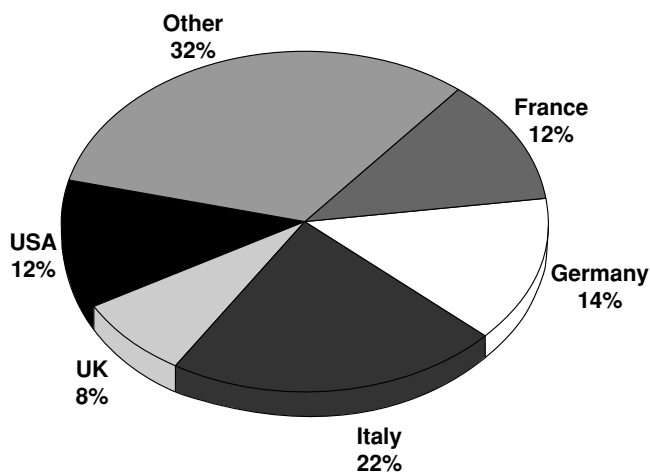


Fig. 22 National provenance of periodicals, 1992

A look at the geographical provenance of scholarly periodicals also highlights these differences (Figs. 21-22). In this case, the relative representation of periodicals is even more strongly at variance with population size or GNP. A comparison of the evidence from the two chrono-

logical limiting points of this survey⁸ reveals a limited amount of long-term change through a shift from France and Germany to the two main Anglophone countries and to a lesser extent to Italy and all others. Two implications deserve our attention. First, the fact that scholarship in English accounts for thirty per cent of the current annual output but only twenty per cent of all relevant serial publications are published in the United States and the United Kingdom suggests that these two countries are net exporters of scholarship in the sense that a considerable proportion of their scholars publish their research in other countries⁹. The same is true for France and, to a lesser extent, for Germany, which is both an exporter and an importer of scholarly work. At the same time, the share of periodicals produced in Italy matches the current share of Italian scholarship in the world's total output. The large share of Italian periodicals also shows that Italy produces, per capita, more than six times as many periodicals that deal with Classics than the UK and the USA combined.

SEX RATIOS

Unfortunately, there is at least one issue of great interest that does not lend itself to examination through *APh*. It was only in 1988 that *APh* began to spell out the first names of all modern authors whenever they were known instead of merely stating their initials. For that reason, the relative representation of the sexes over time is impossible to determine¹⁰. All that can be done here is to report the sex ratio for the latest issue, 1992. (The span between 1988 and 1992 seemed too short to permit any meaningful comparison.) In that year, 79.9 per cent of all authors who could be sexed were male and 20.1 per cent were female. Up to a point, this four-to-one ratio conceals differences between the three major subsets 'Philology', 'Archaeology' and 'History' as defined above. In the first category, the study of ancient authors, literature and language, male dominance was slightly above average: only 18.1 per cent of all pieces were written or edited by women. In history, the ratio

⁸ The place of publication of serials has been listed in a consistent manner from 1932 onward.

⁹ Publications in Canada, Australia, etc., cannot nearly fill that gap.

¹⁰ The only annual bibliography with comparably extensive coverage, the *Archäologische Bibliographie*, suffers from the same shortcoming.

was even closer to the mean, viz., 80.8 to 19.2. Only in archaeology did the sex ratio differ significantly from the overall rate. Twenty-nine per cent of the authors in this section were female and seventy-one per cent were male. Because of the relatively small share of this category in the total, this had only a limited impact on the overall mean.

The small-scale survey of North American Classics journals conducted by the Committee on the Status of Women and Minority Groups (CSWMG) of the American Philological Association provides some comparative material. In 1971, sixteen per cent of all articles published in ten selected journals were written by women, as were eighteen per cent of the papers in twelve journals in 1977. «Ten years later, in 1987, women were responsible for 25% of submissions and 22% of acceptances, and by 1993 these figures had risen to 32% and 34%, respectively»¹¹. This lower sex ratio can be seen as evidence of recent improvements in the position of female scholars in the United States compared both to previous years and to other Western countries. It however deserves notice, and it is indeed pointed out by the compilers of the CSWMG survey, that the unusually high share of female authors in a few journals skews the mean total in their favour. In view of that, it seems safe to conclude that the current contribution of women to classical scholarship in the United States may be somewhat above the international average, yet probably not by a very wide margin. Again, this finding suggests a relatively high level of homogeneity across national and linguistic borders.

CONCLUSIONS

Time and again, the results of this survey have revealed the intrinsically conservative character of scholarship in Classics. The relative representation of the major fields of enquiry — the study of ancient authors, of literature and language, of archaeology, and of historical issues — has remained virtually unchanged for seventy years. Shifts within these fields are rare and, if they occur, slow and limited in scope, such as the gradual gain of social history against religious history. In most cases, such as in the study of individual ancient authors or regarding relative

¹¹ *Report of the Committee on the Status of Women and Minority Groups, American Philological Association Newsletter* 18.6 (December 1995), p. 6-15, at 6.

preference for Roman over Greek history, significant changes are almost completely absent. This large-scale stability is rendered even more impressive by the apparent lack of impact of changes in the languages of publication. Thus, the decline of German and the concomitant rise of English and, more recently, Italian has failed to alter established patterns of thematic preference. Generational and, where applicable, socio-economic change has been equally inconsequential. Needless to say, these basic continuities have not forestalled continual evolution in the choice of questions, methods and approaches: it is important to remember that a category such as «Histoire sociale, économique et administrative» accommodates, say, the most antiquarian work on minutiae of the *cursus honorum* of Roman bureaucrats as well as the most combatively progressive work in, say, gender studies. The same is true for many other sections. It goes without saying that these very real shifts in orientation could only be traced through a much more detailed and (in every respect) exhausting study. *APh* certainly provides a perfect basis for any such endeavour. The present survey simply demonstrates the interconnection of different fields within what in English is known as Classics, or in German as *Altertumswissenschaften*: research in ancient philology, linguistics, archaeology and history always moves in unison. This finding underscores the practical value of the otherwise anomalous concept of 'Classics' as an umbrella for a wide range of modern approaches to the ancient world.

This survey also sheds light on the sheer bulk of classical scholarship. Based on the data from 1924 to 1992, we can estimate that approximately 850,000 contributions to classical scholarship will have been published in the twentieth century. While it is hard even to guess at the size of output before 1900, there can be no doubt that total production is bound to exceed one million within the next few years — unless we have already passed that mark. This figure may be brought into perspective by envisaging a person who spends fifty years of his or her life — say, from age twenty to seventy — leafing through all these books and articles for eight hours a day, every day. Even then, this devoted student would have fewer than nine minutes to spare for each item. The common wisdom that it has long become impossible for a single person to keep up with scholarship is thus true even in the most literal sense. Even if this reader were to confine her or his reading to the current output, at a rate of production of about 17,000 items a year, each piece could not command more than ten minutes' worth of attention.

Scholarly industry at this scale, charted out in the ever-rising graphs presented above, might be taken as proof that at least as far as research is concerned, classical scholarship is a thriving business. This favourable assessment, however, needs to be qualified in the light of progress in other areas of the humanities, many of which have experienced far higher rates of growth. The number of entries in the *Annual Bibliography of English Language and Literature*, for instance, increased by 320 per cent between 1952 and 1992, compared to an increase of ninety-seven per cent in Classics during the same period. The *International Bibliography of Books and Articles on the Modern Languages and Literatures* registered an increase by 262 per cent from 1957 to 1992, again against ninety-seven per cent in Classics. In the *Linguistic Bibliography – Bibliographie Linguistique*, the number of entries grew by 235 per cent between 1952 and 1992¹². The same holds true for historical scholarship. The number of entries in the *Bibliographie annuelle de l'histoire de France* rose by 217 per cent from 1955 to 1992, compared to ninety-seven per cent in Classics. Even mediaeval history has grown at a faster pace than Classics: the entries in the *International Medieval Bibliography* in 1992 were two-and-a-third times as numerous as in 1969, compared to a corresponding increase of only fifty-six per cent in *APh*. The *Bibliography of the History of Art – Bibliographie d'histoire de l'art* grew by 249 per cent from 1976 to 1992, against forty-six per cent in *APh*. Thus, although output in Classics has steadily increased ever since World War II, the quantitative importance of research in antiquity has continually declined relative to disciplines concerned with the study of more recent languages, literature, history, and art. The share of Classics in academic research has been shrinking for much of the twentieth century.

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¹² The *Bibliographie d'histoire littéraire française – Bibliographie der französischen Literaturwissenschaft*, in spite of its lagging well behind these indices, documents a seventy-two per cent increase from 1969 to 1992, which is still higher than the rate of fifty-six per cent for Classics.